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THE S. L. P. OF GREAT BRITAIN

Clasps Hands Across the Waters with the S. L. P. of America, and Sends Official Notice of Its Rise and the History of Its Birth.

Socialist Labor Party,
63 Adelphi street,
Glasgow, Scotland.

To H. Kuhn, Secretary, Socialist Labor Party, U. S. A.:

Dear Comrade—At the first conference of our party held in Edinburgh on June 6 and 7 a note was read from one of the departments of your press informing us that the Editor of The People had expressed a desire to have an official statement of the recent developments here in Britain, as he had seen several statements in Justice, but had taken no notice of them.

Believing that such a statement would prove not only interesting to your members, but also be instructive as showing the growth of the movement here and the manner in which the "leaders" of the Socialist parties here have endeavored to run the revolutionary feelings of the workers into the ground, while all the time posing to the Socialist parties of other countries as "blood-red revolutionaries," the conference instructed the E. C. of the party to draw up an official statement and forward it, together with their fraternal greetings, to the Socialist Labor Party of America.

We, therefore, enclose the statement in the hope that your National Executive Committee will consider it of sufficient importance to order its publication in your party's organs. It is a rather lengthy document, we admit, but it was impossible to convey a proper understanding of the recent occurrences, without paying some attention to the historical side of the movement here.

It is quite unnecessary to say more; a perusal of the statement will prove to your members and sympathizers that straight tactics will in the end succeed and will also encourage them in the battle that is before us. The mother country has profited from the example of America, and has seen fit to discard the old methods and ideas and adopt the only policy that can build up a strong Socialist party, capable of leading on the workers to their emancipation.

Hands across the seas, then; we pause for a moment in our fight with Capitalism, pause that we may feel that hearty hand clasp that spring only from hearts trustful of each other, then turn again to the fight "wherein no man can fail," with the knowledge that in Britain as in America, the foes of the workers have to be fought down, and that nothing save the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class can stead the worker.

Yours fraternally,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Neil Maclean,
National Secretary.

Now that for the first time in the history of this island the working-class movement has taken a definite material form we propose, in sending the fraternal greetings of the Soocialist Labor Party of Great Britain to our comrades of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States and Canada, to give a brief account of the circumstances accompanying and precedent to the formation of the party.

The first traces of Socialist activity in this country are to be found about the year 1884. By that time the great mass of the working class had secured the franchise—not a complete franchise—but one sufficiently broad to make them if they chose the dominant factor in the electoral field. Trade Unionism had made great progress among the skilled trades, and had fought for and won legal recognition. Furthermore, a strong body of republican sentiment existed throughout the country. All these circumstances, although not in themselves pointing to socialism, yet in a country still haunted by the ghosts of a dead feudalism in the shape of a hereditary monarchy and a House of Lords, were promising signs of future possibilities to the working class, particularly when it is considered that they represented the first glimmering of light after the "black starless midnight" which followed the downfall of the Chartist Movement.

It was under such conditions that the Social Democratic Federation came into existence. Everything gave promise of a successful career. Liberalism and Radicalism were discredited. The political genius of Disraeli which, after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, had transformed the semi-feudal Tory party into a thoroughly efficient capitalist party, had deprived Liberalism of its raison d'etre and gave it a blow from which it has never recovered, although the treachery and incompetence of working-class leaders, have permitted it since then to remain in a condition of suspended animation. Every circumstance was in favor of the newly founded Social Democratic Federation, everything pointed to a glorious future. To-day, after the lapse of twenty years, it has little more than a thousand members, no influence, and no political standing. To the great mass of the working class its very name is unknown. It has not a single member in the House of Commons, and could not muster (independently of radical support) more than 300 socialist votes at a parliamentary election in any given constituency. Even that number could not be reached in more than half a dozen places. In the whole history of politics there is not to be found a more ignominous contemptible failure than is represented by the S. D. F.'s twenty years' efforts to organize the working class.

The causes of this failure are many, but, in the main, resolve themselves into two divisions (1) its middle class founders and leaders, with their thinly veiled contempt for and distrust of, the working class; (2) the formalism or theoreticality of its propaganda, having as its complement a degree of political inaptitude almost inconceivable—a political practice which is a world's wonder of hesitancy and inconsistency. The men who founded the S. D. F. are still at its head. Only those are admitted to share with them the "responsibilities of government" who can be relied upon to be thoroughly obedient and subservient to the great men. The latter class is mainly composed of officials and place holders, men who have "sacrificed their poverty upon the altar" of socialism, such as Mr. H. Quelch, the editor of Justice, and Mr. Geo. Hewitt, the London organizer, a gentleman whose brilliant finance in connection with the S. D. F. Bazaar of two years ago is still spoken of among the London branches.

The seeds of evil inherent in this middle class connection germinated at a very early date. In 1885 to the surprise of every one the S. D. F., then only a few months in existence, with a mere handful of members and no funds, ran two candidates for Parliament, Mr. Williams for Hampstead, and Mr. Fielding for Kennington. Not the slightest attempt was made to conceal the fact that the election expenses were being paid by the Tories in the hope that the Socialists would split the radical vote. In short the S. D. F. was used as the stalking horse of the Conservative Party. To those whose stomachs were too weak to tolerate this open barter Mr. Hyndman (who is never tired of telling us that he is a 'Varsity man, and one of the "highly educated classes") opposed his now historic classicism "Non olet" ("It does not smell"). The immediate result of this little venture was that Mr. Williams polled twenty-seven votes, and Mr. Fielding thirty-two, so that altogether the guileless Tories, who had estimated the Socialist strength at ten times its real value, paid about £8 for each vote. But it also had the effect of utterly discrediting socialism as a political force in England for many years to come. The workingman naturally enough, refused to be persuaded by the "highly educated" gentleman's quotation. It did smell, and that most noisomely. In fact it stunk the S. D. F. out of the political arena for about ten years. Even now the lurking superstition that Socialist candidatures are simply a Tory dodge still haunts us, and the scandal of the "Tory Gold" has not quite died away.

It may be mentioned that the Socialist League, a body composed in the main of certain amiable sentimentalists, who had seceded from the S. D. F. on account of these trafficking tendencies, passed the folowing resolution: "That this meeting of London members of the Socialist League views with indignation the action of certain members of the Social Democratic Federation in trafficking with the honor of the Socialist party, and desires to express its sympathies with that section of the body which repudiates the tactics of *the disreputable gang* concerned in the recent proceedings," 7th December, 1885. The Socialist League, it may be added, partly because of the middle class idealism and economic ignorance of its members, partly because Mr. Hyndman's uncleanness had made political action for the time being impossible, drifted into anarchism and died after a few years' existence. It is interesting, as showing how little consistency ruled in the Councils of the S. D. F., and how entirely the personal factor dominated, to note that N. H. Champion (who ran up against Hyndman and was consequently expelled) was condemned a few years later for playing precisely the same game! Stranger still that such condemnation should come from Hyndman himself.

So much for the S. D. F. in the eighties. In the nineties it betrays the same vices on a slightly different plane. This decade saw the rise of what is called in this country "The New Trade Unionism"—an institution which practically amounts to this, that the trade union leader is extending his field of operation and instead of confining his treachery and ignorance to the plane of trade union organization, as formerly, is striving to make a place for himself in the politics of the country. This movement beginning with the return to Parliament of Mr. John Burns (a member of the S. D. F., who, like Champion, jostled Hyndman and met with the same fate), has developed on a large scale, finding expression in the Independent Labor Party, and the Labor Representation Committee. As these latter bodies, acting in concert, have reached the position of running fifty candidates for the next parliamentary elections, it will be seen how far the evil has grown.

The primary duty of a real Socialist party is the attack and exposure of impostors like these, who seek to sidetrack the working class movement into the morasses of capitalist politics. This, however, the S. D. F. had neither the ability nor the will to do. It had not the ability, because being discredited by its cow-trading with the Tories, it could only hope to climb once more into political recognition by following in the wake of this new "Labor" movement. Consequently it could not throw over the ladder by which it climbed, especially as it has never got past the bottom rungs. Thus its criticism of these men has been of an extremely mild, "discreet," and restrained character. It had not the will, because a study of the S. D. F. political records will show that the action of this body in the case of any given "Labor" or Liberal candidate has been based, not upon any general principle or plan of action, but upon the likes or dislikes, the personal friendships or antipathies of its leaders. Thus Mr. Naorogi, an Indian gentleman of Liberal views, who shows his loyalty to his starved and oppressed countrymen by supporting a party which has led the way in crushing and exploiting them, has received the consisten support of the S. D. F. He is a personal friend of Hyndman. Mr. W. Steadman, a favored Liberal, one of Mr. Quelch's gossips and boon companions, has received the same measure of support. Mr. John Burns is opposed at one election and supported at another, according as he may happen to be in good or bad odor with the official gang. Many other cases might be quoted, but these will suffice.

Outside of politics pure and simple it is amusing to note the prevalence of the same personal element. Thus Mr. Beer is an honored guest at Central dinners, while the name of Bernstein is anathema, although the published opinions of both gentlemen are practically identical. The reason is that Berstein, while resident in London, didn't kow-tow to the official set, whereas Mr. Beer came to this country with the halo of martyrdom surrounding his "leonine" brows and was endeared to their hearts by the circumstance of his having been expelled for treachery by the S. L. P. of the United States.

A working class party that does not possess complete self respect and an absolute confidence in itself and in its capacity to lead the workers to the Socialist Republic is a misnomer. This self respect, this confidence the S. D. F. has never possessed. It has never in the whole period of its history stood upon its own feet. In the first decade of its existence it relied upon the financial support of the Tories; in the second decade upon the political labor fakirs and the radicals. It has never once contested a constituency on independent lines. At every election it has "fused" or "co-operated" with class unconscious bodies; or, to be more accurate, with bodies possessing even less class consciousness than itself. As example of this we may quote the candidature of Mr. Harry Quelch, "the best and the noblest," at Dewsbury. Mr. Quelch was supported on the platform by Radicals, pro-Boers, anti-Vaccinators, Clarion Fellowshippers and Trade Unionists. He was supported by a section of the Radical press, which urged the electors to support him as a pro-Boer. His canvassers also included Radicals in their number. Of course, such antics were usually explained away as being merely "temporary alliances" and "without any sacrifice of principle"—as if co-operation with bodies under the sway of capitalist thought and the policy of pandering to the class unconscious vote did not constitute the most flagrant abandonment of principle.

In addition to this, the S. D. F. has proved itself to be lacking in ordinary democratic sentiment. While it goes without saying that barren political reforms, such as the extension of the franchise, are valueless as ends in themselves and are merely to be looked upon as furnishing weapons necessary to the working class in the struggle for the political overthrow of capital, at the same time a working class party must be in the van of the democracy, voicing the highest democratic aspirations of the people. This is particularly necessary in countries like Britain and Germany, where the capitalist political revolution has not been completely accomplished, where the franchise is still limited and subject to vexatious restrictions, and where hereditary power and privilege still exist. In pressing for political enfranchisement the S. D. F. has been far behind the Chartists of fifty years ago. Anything in the nature of agitation for political freedom has been consistently pooh-poohed. The middle-class distrust of the democracy has commonly found expression in such arguments as this: "It is useless to press for further extension of the franchise. Those workers who already enjoy this right use it foolishly. To extend it would mean an increase of ignorant and foolish workingmen voters, and a consequent increase of our labors in converting the masses to Socialism!" Indeed, one might almost infer that these good gentlemen seriously believed that if, by some constitutional miracle, the suffrage could be limited to the S. D. F. Executive all society would be blessed, inasmuch as they would be enabled to declare the revolution, hoist the old flag, and peace and plenty would straightway shine upon a smiling land. The republican sentiment, to which we have already referred as existing in the eighties, was never utilized. In fact, the expression "Socialist Republic" was unknown in their circles until recent years, and even then only among "impossibilists." Last year the Executive issued a manifesto on the coronation, written by Hyndman. It took the form of "An Open Letter to the King," and began with the word "Sire!" Further criticism is unnecessary. Members like the pseudo-philosopher Belfort Bax are permitted to preach a crusade against female suffrage, and to represent their own wormwooden Niestsche-Schopenhauerian views upon the woman question as being the opinions of the elite of the Socialist movement, thereby repelling the large and growing mass of thinking proletarian women and violating the decision of the Brussels International Congress.

From time to time revolts broke out against this condition of radical internal rottenness. At first these were sparodic and individual, and easily suppressed or brushed aside. The movement which has culminated in the foundation of the Socialist Labor Party is the only serious revolt against the powers that be that has taken place within the S. D. F. This revolt broke out simultaneously in Scotland and England. That it should have gained sufficient strength in Scotland to dominate the movement there was due to the fact that the principal industrial towns of Scotland all lie pretty close together in the central coal field. Thus they were enabled to work together, organizing and massing their forces to an extent impossible in the more scattered branches of the south. Thus arose the expression "The Unholy Scotch Current." London, which is the only other district where the branches are in close communication with each other, was entirely under the control and supervision of the Executive, which has its central offices there. Thus the London outbreak is of a comparatively recent date, albeit it now presents formidable proportions. Thoughtful workers, who did not belong to the "highly educated" middle class and who, feeling the bitterness of slavery at firsthand, were correspondingly serious in their desire for emancipation, began to question the wisdom of the S. D. F. policy. They had entered it as being the only avowed Socialist party of the country. In most cases they had reached Socialist convictions only after a painful pilgrimage through the wilderness of radicalism and "laborism." Now the S. D. F., which they had taken at its own value and joined with the confident expectation that they had found a party within which they could fight the battle of their class, instead of attacking the reactionary forces of the labor fakir, was found to be preserving an attitude of timid and irresolute neutrality, and in some cases actually joining forces with the enemy. They saw the Labor Representation Committee, which simply aims at the acquisition of political influence by the corrupt pure-and-simple trade union leaders, "pegging out claims" in all the important industrial centers, while the S. D. F. in no single case placed candidates in the field against them, and even allowed their members to give support to these traitors. They saw S. D. F-ers members of Liberal and Radical clubs, and an S. F. D. candidate, in the person of Mr. George Lansbury, with a president of a Liberal club, as chairman of his meetings. In short, they saw the only Socialist organization of the country a prey to the most degrading cowardice and corruption.

The first attack upon officialdom consisted of an attempt to bring the organ, "Justice," under the control of the party. This paper was started in 1884 with money lent by a Theistic Anarchist, Edward Carpenter, who, besides this, gratifies his anti-social proclivities by publishing from year to year volumes of Whitmanical poetry. The loan was bought out by a private company under the name of the Twentieth Century Press, the shareholders of which belong to every possible variety of political thought. The editor is appointed by this motely gang and is entirely free from party control, as he has repeatedly assured the Conferences. As the paper is a dead loss financially, the company has to rely upon its other printing orders to make up the deficit. The great bulk of its business consists of the printing of papers and circulars for the various trade unions. In order to secure and retain the orders, the paper has all along avoided any criticism of the trade union leaders which these worthy men might consider offensive. It has, in short, been the paid accomplice of the labor fakirs.

At the Birmingham conference, 1901, a motion to consider means whereby "Justice" should be taken over by the party was defeated by a vote of 17 for to 41 agaist. At the Blackburn conference, in the following year, a resolution to take action on the lines of the S. T. & L. A. was defeated by an overwhelming majority, as was also a resolution prohibiting members from affiliating with other political bodies, such as Liberal clubs. Comrade Yates, at the close of the conference, accused the Executive of keeping back important information from the party, giving as an example their suppression of Lansbury's resignation of his candidature for Bow and Bromley, because the E. C. refused to allow him to co-operate openly (instead of secretly, as heretofore) with the Radicals. The secretary, H. W. Lee, denied having received such a letter, although he has since admitted it in open conference, excusing himself on the ground that he lied for the good of the party. Yates' accusations and Lee's denial were both excluded from the report of the conference that appeared in "Justice." For writing to The People, pointing out this fact, our London comrade, P. Friedberg, was irregularly expelled.

We append copies of Friedberg's letter to The People and of Lansbury's letter of resignation. Observe its date and the date of the conference:

Lansbury's Letter.

February 23, 1902.

H. W. Lee—

Dear Comrade: I have decided not to stand for Bow again. I do so for many reasons, chief of which is I don't agree **with the policy of fighting independently;** but had I time, and were I in good health, and my business not so exacting, I should have a real good try to get the S. D. P. round to my view. I believe this Rosebery business means the establishment of a center which will absorb a good many whigs and tories, the radicals will be left out, with no money, but with our enthusiasm, they would, I feel sure, be able to lay the foundation of a strong party, and our policy should be to, at some sacrifice, not of principles, but of tactics, get a fighting party of politicians, made up of men whom most of us dislike, but men who are useful or could be used. But I get these queer heart attacks and must leave it alone, as, unless one is prepared to take one's place as a fighter, I feel it is not my place to criticize those who are doing, as you and other comrades are, your best.

So if you announce it, say that owing to ill health or business I am not standing again. I remain yours fraternally,

(Signed) G. Lansbury.

Lansbury's letter is dated, as you will see, February 23, 1902. On March 30, more than a month later, H. W. Lee denied at the annual conference held in Blackburn all knowledge of this typical S. D. F.er's letter of resignation.

The Friedberg Letter.

P. Friedberg was Finsbury Park's delegate to the conference. When the report of the conference in "Justice," on April 5, 1902, was printed, he found that various important matters, involving important principles which had been discussed, were omitted. Thinking it advisable that members of the S. D. F. should have an adequate and full report of the meeting, he sent a letter to "Justice," calling attention to the omissions. This letter was withheld by the editor, and Friedberg forwarded for publication in the "People" a letter of which the following is a copy:

To the Daily and Weekly People: It is with some reluctance that I proffer my request to you to publish this letter, as I would rather fight out the battle between Socialism and opportunism in England in 'Justice,' but the attitude of Mr. Quelch leaves me no option but to ask you to grant me space to lay certain facts which occurred at the recent conference at Blackburn before the rapidly growing S. D. F. circle of English readers of the People.

As regards the conference itself, Quelch and the rest of the "alte-genossen" got badly knocked. Quelch and Rothstein had expressed their anxiety to meet 'the unholy Scotch Current.' Well, they met the current, and were dashed on the breakers. It was amusing to see the difference between the attitude of the straight boys like Yates and Anderson—cool, dignified, and argumentative—and the raving and excited vituperation of Quelch. Of course, the motion for a full report of the conference emanated from the 'impossibilities' and was opposed by the Government.

At the close of the conference Comrade Matheson moved that any branch or any member accused of anything before the executive should be allowed to see copies of the letter of accusation. This, which would have been granted by any capitalist court of law to the lowest criminal, was opposed by Quelch and rejected by the conference by 40 votes to 26. "Justice" suppresses all mentioned of this. I sent up a letter of protest to "Justice," and this, too, with characteristic courage, Quelch would not publish.

There are two other matters not mentioned in the "Justice" report which will probably interest readers of the People.

The first is as follows: Some time ago the People, in common with other Socialist papers (Le Petit Sou of Paris and Vorwartz of Berlin), published a manifesto from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, remonstrating with the English Socialists for their friendship with the Irish capitalist class. "Justice" did not publish this, and when the Irish Socialists protested, Quelch denied all knowledge of the manifesto.

At the conference it was brought out that not only was it published in three Socialist papers (all of which Quelch sees), but that the Falkirk and Glasgow branches of the S. D. F. had written Quelch about it.

The other matter concerns a gentleman whom readers of the People doubtless remember, Mr. George Lansbury. Facts were dragged to light at the conference showing that he has written to the executive committee refusing to stand for Bow and Bromley unless backed by the Liberals. This Quelch had the audacity to say he knew nothing of, although it is known to a large number of S. D. F. members.

The last executive consisted of London portion, 12 opportunists, provincial portion, 11 opportunists, and 1 straight man, L. Cotton. This year 1 "impossibilist" was returned to the London portion and 2 to the provincial. Cotton was elected third on the list.

With fraternal greetings to the fighting S. L. P., I thank you in anticipation for publishing this. P. Friedberg.

London, England, April 15.

On the arrival in England of the Weekly People containing the above letter the London portion of the executive, without waiting for the advice and vote of the provincial portion, expelled Friedberg from the S. D. F.

As it now became plain that the mass of the S. D. F. was too much debauched by the hebdomadal vomit of the organ of the Twentieth Century Press to make the party control of the paper an immediate prospect, the Scotch branches decided to use a hair of the dog that bit them and establish a paper owned and controlled by themselves, the object of which would be to counteract the debasing and corrupting influence of Justice. With this end the Socialist was founded. Articles which have appeared in the People reprinted from it signify the policy and tenor of the paper. At the congress held last Easter at London the editor, Comrade Yates, was expelled and the branches controlling the paper were ordered either to alter its tone in conformity with that of Justice or cease its publication.

These happenings proved to us that our mission within the S. D. F. was at an end—that the time had come to deliver our blows at the "highly educated" middle classmen from without—to establish the party of the workers on a firm and independent basis. Consequently on the return of the Scottish branches from the London conference a special meeting of the Scottish District Council was called, at which it was decided nem. con. to withdraw from the Federation. A preliminary conference was held to fix upon the name of the new party, to draw up our manifesto to the working class and to arrange a rough draft of rules. At our first party conference at Edinburgh, June 6 and 7, the constitution and platform of the S. L. P., of which we send copy, were finally determined.

The task before the Socialist Labor Party is one of overwhelming magnitude. The treachery and incompetence of the S. D. F. have left the British working class about twenty years behind that of most civilized countries. But now that a nucleus has been formed in both countries in the form of a party recruited entirely from the working class, free from middle class megrims, established upon the bedrock of the material interests of the working class, proceeding upon the sound tactics of the class struggle, we look forth upon the future with confidence. Hard work and hard blows are before us in abundance, but beyond it all lies the victory of our class if we but play the man and stand by our cause. In every country of the English speaking world, America, Canada, Australia and Britain the fighting S. L. P. stands out as the party of the working class revolution. To our comrades across the seas the S. L. P. of Great Britain sends fraternal greetings.

(Signed) **Executive Committee.**
Neil Maclean, National Secretary.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

(From The Socialist, Edinburgh, Scotland, Organ of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain.)

Two events have happened lately to measure the degree of class consciousness attained by the Spanish working class. The first of these is the election of the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament). The second is the demonstration that took place on the 1st of May.

The election of April 26 demonstrated the growing strength of capitalism against the old decaying feudal forms which exist in Spain to still distinguish that country from the rest of Europe. This capitalist movement expresses itself in politics through the Republican party, which is conducting an energetic propaganda in favor of a bouregois republic like that of Spain's late enemy—the United States.

This Republican party in the recent elections carried by large majorities such industrial centers as Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia, and doubled its strength in the Cortes. In the last Cortes it had seventeen deputies; this time it has thirty-four. During the electoral campaign it strongly condemned the incapacity of the government, from a capitalist point of view, harping upon the loss of Spain's colonial possessions, which, it contended, would never happened under a republic.

Opposed alike to the semi-feudal monarchist factions and the bourgeois republicans stands the Partido Socialista Obrero (Socialist Labor Party). It ran candidates in the recent elections in all the industrial centers against all the parties of the governing classes, and called upon the workers to cast their ballots for Socialism.

Owing to the means adopted by the capitalist parties, means which I will shortly describe, the Socialist vote was small.

The largest vote was secured in Madrid, Bilboa and Barcelona. Madrid, 1,781 votes; Bilboa, 1,075; Oviedo, 799. As soon as the official figures are out I will send you particulars of the complete Socialist vote. At the same time, however, the official figures are notoriously inaccurate, and that brings me to the consideration of the tactics employed by the capitalist parties. In Spain only a minority of the people have recognized the importance and the necessity of the use of the ballot. The result is that the capitalist parties have it within their power to ignore the minority and its decisions at the polls. The agents of the government resort to such tactics as tearing up the ballot papers of their opponents, stuffing the ballot boxes, and adding to the totals of their own candidates thousands of votes they have never received. Bribery is also resorted to in an unblushing way. In Bilboa, where our comrade, Pablo Iglesias, was the Socialist candidate, the successful candidate, a Carlist, is estimated to have spent $75,000 in bribery. It is encouraging to observe, however, that the Spanish Socialists showed no disposition to adopt the policy which the London S. D. F. favors, of temporary alliances with the capitalist parties. Mr. Keir Hardie's friends, the Anarchists, fight the Socialists as bitterly as possible, but the former are gradually losing ground. In opposition to the Anarchists and bourgeoise trade unions the Socialists have organized "The General Union of Workers," an organization which, during the last four years, has increased in membership from 14,000 to 46,000. From time to time a union breaks away from the Anarchists and elects Socialist officials. In Coruna recently an event of this description took place, the result being that the Anarchists have seceded from the union, and formed an opposition organization in which notorious blacklegs are members. The chief idea of the Anarchists, if it can be dignified with that title, is "the general strike." It would be humorous if it were not so tragic to hear these men who are opposed to any attempt to make a labor organization efficacious, advocating a policy that would require not merely a national but an international organization of the greatest strength to be successful. English and Scottish comrades, however, will not be surprised to hear that, as the Socialists are engaged in fighting this idea in Spain, and inculcating the necessity of political action, Mr. Keir Hardie should at this moment be advocating the general strike in a Spanish paper (El Heraldo de Madrid, in its issue of May 2). May Day has been observed in all the principal towns in Spain. In Madrid a meeting was held, 9,000 attending. Afterward a demonstration in the streets, attended by 16,000 persons. Here are some figures giving the progress made by the Spanish workers since the first May Day demonstration in 1890:

1890—50 towns celebrated May Day; 1903, 250.

1890—15 branches of the Socialist Party in Spain; 1903, 160.

1890—The General Union of Workers was composed of 27 societies, with 3,355 members; 1903, 300 sections and 4,600 members.

1890—One Socialist journal, with a circulation of 2,500; 1903, 12 Socialist papers and a Review, with a total circulation of 30,000. As a result of the May Day demonstrations increasing every year, twenty municipalities have been forced to grant the eight hour-day to their workmen. P. F.

THE FLOUR INDUSTRY

The flour milling industry is one of the larger branches of industry in this country that has comparatively long remained unorganized. This is due, no doubt, to interesting causes, which, however, do not belong to the present sketch. The fact of the matter is that now it is being organized, and on a most thoroughly pure and simple basis at that. The milling industry was "ripe" for organization, and few fakirs have taken bolder steps and declared a more open policy than John M. Finley, international president of the Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Union.

About a year ago six delegates met in Indianapolis and formed an international organization. Finley was elected its president, and he immediately set out on his mission to organize the craft. Upon returning from his first trip the daily papers reported it as very successful. The president was quoted as having said that "as he came to a town his first step was to consult the employers, lay his plan before them, and in nearly every case, after understanding his policy, they willingly consented to him organizing their mill."

During the past week sixty-two delegates, from sixteen States, met in convention, again in Minneapolis. "Much important business was then transacted," to again quote the daily papers, "for the perfection of this organization, among which may be mentioned a resolution addressed to the Senators and Representatives of the United States, calling for reciprocity and favorable legislation for the milling industry." The convention also raised the per capita to the International from 15 cents to 25 cents, and appropriated an immediate sum of $500 for organization purposes, a corrolary of which is that the president goes on the road at once to organize, at a salary that does not look much like the wages of his constituents.

Now, to understand the policy of this union we can do no better than to study its sentiments at a meeting held last Friday night, under the auspices of the officers of the International Union. It was held at Plymouth Church, and should have been a mass meeting, but the attendance called for it the apologies of the president. The theme was the "Eight-Hour Day," which, acording to John Finley, is the highest aim of the T. & C. M. E. U.

The first speaker was Mayor Haynes, of Minneapolis. The speech was short and interesting mainly for the contradictions he managed to utter in so short a space. For example, he started out by saying that the first thing he reads in the papers is the notes on the great conflict that is going on—the conflict between the employer and the employe. In other words, he ackowledged the existence of the class struggle. Then, not more than five minutes later, he said that there could never be any antagonism between the man that pays wages and the man that receives wages. How does that coincide? Again, he said much about how we free Americans love our country, and how attached we are to its free institutions. Then, in commenting upon Darrow's "Warning to Trades Unionists," he said that he was a firm believer in the right to organize but he wished to draw the audience's attention to the words of Darrow, and whatever the unions do they should not go too far. Now, during good times, they had organized so as to adjust the price of labor to the price of the finished product, which is high now, and that was all right; but, when hard times come, as they are bound to come do not go too far or be too obstinate in the demands because if so the unions may shake the confidence they now have with the great unorganized mass the middle class. "Be careful," he wound up, "and when you feel conditions changing govern yourselves accordingly."

Now, what is this but an acknowledgement that labor power is a commodity whose price fluctuates like that of other commodities and whose value is regulated according to the value of its reproduction. Now, when the price of the reproduction of labor power is high, i. e., when food, clothing and rent is high, the price or wages go up; but when the price of the necessities of life goes down wages must also fall and it is useless trouble for the unions to attempt to resist. Indeed, Mayor Haynes may have studied Marx because he understands the much disputed theory of value; but he left out Marx's application, namely, as labor power is a part of the working man himself, hence the workingman sells himself when he sells his labor power; hence he is not a free man but a wage slave.

John O'Donald, the State Labor Commissioner, was the next speaker. He had no end of eulogies, first for the Mayor, then for the F. & C. M. E. U. He said that unions have been condemned as radical, but that in truth they are not dangerous at all. The older unions are beyond danger altogether; but, if there is any danger it is in the younger unions, which often feel that when they organize they must demand something. He, however, congratulated the M. E. U. on the fact that in choosing levelheaded and conservative leaders they had showed as remarkable a comprehension as many an old union. Herein, no doubt, lay the wonderful success of the young organization. Unions to be successful must stand on the Golden Rule and favor the brotherhood of all men, employer and employee. "Unions have done great work in sick benefit and have performed many an act of Christian charity that the world knows nothing about. In fact, the trade unions have done more for humanity than any other organization, I care not what it might be." This however, was a dangerous statement for John to make for there was a priest to follow on the programme and he without directly saying that John had lied, nevertheless, said pretty emphatically that the Christian church had done more for humanity than any other organization. We care not to judge between them, but this much we know, that if the capitalist class is humanity then each in its own way is a pretty good pillar of its institutions.

John M. Finley was the next speaker. He uttered no end of flatteries on the work of his young union. He said that its highest ambition was to gain an universal eight-hour day in the entire craft, and that his own "highest ambition" was to remain its president. The eight hour day had been gained by the Minneapolis millers and many other things had been granted and all without a strike. He then made this prophesy: "The Minneapolis mills will never be shut down one hour on account of strike!" and here are his reasons: "I know my fellow workers well enough to venture to say that they will never make a demand that is not just and if they make a just demand I know that the men at the head of the Minneapolis mills will give it fair consideration and grant it or show good and sufficient reasons why it could not be granted, and if they show good and sufficient reasons why it could not be granted my fellow workers will be fair enough to relinquish their demands." Finley's prophecy may come true, that I do not doubt, it looks very plausible; besides, like the prophets of old he is no doubt very well informed; but as to the cause he is either very ill informed or else it was simply a piece of stage effect. I know some more logical reasons and the mill employes of Minneapolis do well in remembering both and time will show who is the nearest right.

If the Minneapolis mills are not shut down an hour on account of a strike it will be because conditions in the mills, which to-day are comparatively favorable, are changing rapidly. Several mills are now being remodeled and new machinery is being put in. Girls and youths are being employed, though, as yet, on a small scale. The sack-sewing machine is undergoing perfection so that in a year or two unskilled labor can be used where skilled is now needed. Again the "Eight-Hour Miller" for June says that it would be recommended at the convention that no demands be made until September, 1904. By that time the reactionary period pointed out by the Mayor is no doubt near at hand and the time come for "the unions to be lenient and not go too far." By means of hard times, perfected machinery and women and child labor any army of workers can easily be scared into submission. When good times return the mill owners will have had further time to perfect their machines. Furthermore, we request The People to some day print the Union Label contract about to be adopted; it is another infamous "Tobin contract." All this taken together, Mr. Finley has got the Minneapolis mills pretty secure as far as strikes are concerned, and is pretty safe in making his prophecy. Watch it work, and see how the workers are worked by "the level-headed young president."

The next and last speaker was "the eloquent champion of the common people," Father Cleary of the St. Charles Church, and he indulged in more congratulations and more eulogies, "The prophecy," he said, "could never fail to be fulfilled as long as the union should show such remarkably good judgment as to have such level headed young persons for its leaders, and that when people are willing to discuss a question they never fail to come to an intelligent understanding." The flatterings over, however, we must give the champion his due. His speech was quite a relief after the rest, both as to eloquence and subject matter, which, of course, made it none the less dangerous. His subject was the eight-hour day, six days in the week. As far as it went, it was a very fine presentation of the subject. He showed very good reasons why men should not be appendages to machines ten, twelve, fifteen hours, seven days in the week. He gave some very hard hits to the mill employes, who have a reputation for being in love with work, and recommended that instead of "taxing" the employers whole or half extra pay for Sunday and overtime work, the men in love with work ought to be "punished" by being made to work for half pay. He showed them that he appreciates the fact that it is self-interest rather than brotherly love that governs man's actions, because, added he, "then there would not be one of you willing to work overtime." He said the extra pay was simply a sop thrown by the masters to men whom they despised for receiving it, and yet the Father's whole plea was for a sop, namely the eight-hour day.

The eight-hour day may be all right and may look like a great thing to him who works from twelve to fifteen hours; but in itself, and viewed from an historical and evolutionary standpoint, it is no victory at all. It was said several times during the evening that eight hours was the twentieth century workday, yet, as authority for its justification, was quoted the eleventh century philosopher, King Alfred the Great, which made it appear more as though they were demanding eleventh than twentieth century conditions. Further more, Rogers' "Work and Wages" shows that mechanics during the fifteenth century had the millemiun of the F. & C. M. E. I. U.

Let us look at the milling business and see what an eight-hour day implies. The millers have this year been granted an eight-hour day. With present machinery there are only a few millers in each mill. Now then, since that grant a steady improvement in machinery and a consequent intensification of toil has taken place. Several mills are down and are being entirely remodeled, and will start with perhaps doubled or trebled capacity. What does that mean if not that each miller in eight hours will do as much work as formerly in sixteen to twenty hours? And, further more, that this intensification of toil will be felt all along the line? The Pillsbury A Mill, for example, was built about twenty years ago with a capacity of about 5,000 barrels per day; now, with improved machinery, it turns out 15,000 barrels with no larger crew than before. Then it is easy to comprehend that, following only the advancement of say the last fifty years, the twentieth century workday should not be eight hours, but six, five, or perhaps four hours.

With the present intensity of toil the capitalists can well afford to grant the eight-hour day, and, in many instances, are really forced to do so. For example, the nailers and packers in the flour mills could never stand ten or twelve hours work. The fact is that at eight or nine hours' work they do not last any length of time, on account of the rush, the heavy lifting and the dust. With the present improvement of machinery the capitalists, who are all foresighted, will grant the eight-hour day, as the English capitalists granted the ten-hour day a century ago. It will accrue to their own benefit in the long run, as improvement of machinery and intensification of toil follows as a natural corrolary to any shortening in the hours of labor. Besides, such a "victory" would do much to still the pulse of the workers, and give the labor fakirs a chance to declare that the millenium is indeed here.

But so long as capitalism lasts labor-power will remain a commodity. As long as labor-power is a commodity, so long will it be sold for the price of its reproduction; so long will the owners of the tools of production receive a surplus, that grows ever larger with every improvement in the machines of production. So long again, as this surplus value exists and the workers are unable to buy back but a portion of what they produce, so long is the shortening of the labor day but a palliative that does not permenently affect their conditions. The product will pile up, and crises, with their accompaniments of enforced idleness, misery and degredation, must come at regular intervals; and then labor suffers all the effects of an outgrown system.

Again, as to Sunday rest. Every Socialist agrees to that, and will take a day a week off whenever possible. But in itself what is this demand? Indeed, less than eleventh century conditions, as at that time the workers had many a holiday during the year, which twentieth century capitalists deprive them of. Further more, under capitalism, while labor-power is a commodity, perpetual labor is more and more becoming the order of the day. How many branches of production and transportation are there not that must be in perpetual operation all the year through, and some most especially so on Sundays and holidays? Then, it must be remembered that when labor-power is bought it is bought for *every working day in that particular branch.*

Hence, only when the worker is a free man in the Socialist Republic can he obtain conditions that correspond to the status of advancement of twentieth century civilization.

Militant.

Minneapolis, Minn., June 21, 1903.

THE DRUMMER

Once upon a time—and this is not one of Grimm's fairy tales, much as it will sound like one to the younger generation—there was a class of wholesale merchants in New York City which is now as extinct as Dodo. These merchants, while they did not "love virtue and honor more" than "woman and golden store," still had a peculiar code of ethics of their own which forbade them to "make money" under quite a few circumstances which the up-to-date wholesaler takes advantage of.

In the textile branches the old style merchant did not consider it legitimate to offer to the retail trade goods whose outward highly finished appearance concealed a poor quality. He would procure goods which, according to his judgment, would prove "sellers" to the retailer. In other words, while anxious to do a "good business" himself, he also cared for the welfare of his customer.

As far as the worker was concerned, the semi-patriarchal attitude of the "head of the house" tended very largely to make the different clerks employed forget their economic servitude and acquiesce in the capitalist system. And the remembrance of this is the very cause of the indifference evinced to-day by the employes of wholesale houses toward the doctrines of Socialism. When business was "slack" no employe was "laid off;" when he was sick his salary was religiously sent to his home with inquiries as to the state of his health every week; and Christmas or New Year's gifts were expected and given.

But the "star" of all the employes was the representative, not then called drummer as in the case with the selling clerk to-day. In fact he was expected by the "house" to be its representative, not its selling agent only, and therefore his remuneration was not calculated, as such is done to-day, on a percentage basis of its sales. He was trusted as a man capable of upholding the good name of the firm, to sell goods in a legitimate manner and not by misrepresentations or injurious remarks as to the similar lines of competitors, for such ways of "making money" were not considered as compatable with the "business honor" of the old style merchant who would not have hesitated to call the much vaunted "smartness" of his successors of to-day by its proper name—dirty swindling. The salary of the salesman was a liberal one, and his position was assured; his opinion as to the wants of the trade, financial ability, etc., was solicited and carefully considered.

"Now, there rose up a new Pharoah over Egypt, who knew not Joseph." From the East of Europe, first in small numbers, later on in armies, a race of people deserted and despised in their own native lands, reached the American shore. At home they had been compelled by a carefully nursed prejudice to use their wits to the utmost to "scratch a living." They had been peddlers, rum sellers and usuers, and it did not take them long in this country to graduate from peddler to retailer; from retailer to wholesaler. This is the wholesaler of to-day, whose entire business transactions as far as the retailer is concerned are nothing but a web composed of false representations, lying statements, crooked financial transactions, etc.

A good many of these gentry have "lost their names," and I very often have chuckled at the perplexing problem which will confront the Angel Gabriel on the Day of Judgment when he has to summon one of these "gentlemen."

There is hardly a meaner or more contemptible exploiter of labor in existence than this vile product of capitalism. On pay-day employees are robbed in most high-handed manner of part of their earnings—"you have been late several times, that's half a day;" "I have seen you standing around doing nothing, you lose a day"—and every protest meets the same stereotyped answer: "Well, if it don't suit you, you know what you can do." What is worse than this—an action from which the old style merchant would have receded in horror—in case of failure, which is a frequent occurrence with any of these "gentlemen," it is the usual thing to "owe" the "hands" wages for several weeks. The worker has no redress, for the "law," is expensive, and when after a few months' waiting some shyster lawyer does succeed in obtaining a few dollars, his charges amount to one-half or three-quarters of the paltry sum recovered.

There is not language strong enough to condemn this unparalleled robbery of the wage. The indifferences of these workers toward any endeavor for economic freedom can only be acounted for by a state of mind excluding in despair any hope for betterment.

Of all the victims of these modern capitalists the drummer, once called the representative, is surely the one who suffers most. There is no salary for him—simply a commission on sales made. All day long he may walk around, showing his samples, advertising his house, yet when the evening comes and no sales are made, he has worked for nothing. Why should the "boss" pay him? He has not made any money for the house, and if some retailer buttonholed that day should remember the need of some article shown and "drop in" during the week and make a purchase, Mr. Wholesale Merchant will explain to the drummer that Mr. So-and-So is an old customer of the "house," and was by no means influenced by the salesman's solicitations. "Very smart," is it not? But the drummer does sells goods, sometimes for immediate delivery, sometimes for shipment in the future. In the former case it happens very often that the goods designated as ready for delivery by Mr. Wholesaler, are supposed to be in possession of the manufacturers' agent ready for immediate delivery to the wholesaler, whose whole stock of this certain article merely consisted of the samples supplied to the salesman. Somebody else had samples also and has taken the "lot." Surely in such a case who would expect the merchant to pay a commission? He has not made any money; why should he pay? The drummer's time? "Well, he has to take his chances," whatever that may mean. But didn't Mr. Merchant instruct the drummer that these goods were in the house? "Well, I made a mistake, and if my ways of doing business do not suit," etc. That's about all the satisfaction the drummer gets, but pay for a sale that has not been made! who ever heard of such a thing? Oh it is a great life the drummer leads. Capitalist prosperity has surely been a boon to him.

And the orders for future delivery? A good many are canceled long before the time of shipment arives; others are lost on account of lack of raw material on the side of the manufacturer, or are not accepted when delivered a few days after the date set.

In every case the drummer loses his hard earned pay. He is very lucky if he is not compelled too often to "make good" commissions received for bills not paid for on account of failures. It's bad enough if the boss loses the whole bill; why should he lose the drummer's commission also? Of course, the drummer earned the commission, but what has that to do with the case? If it don't suit him, why he can do the other thing! That's plain enough.

Mr. Drummer, forget the nonsense about your "chances'; get the cobwebs out of your brain; look upon things as they are and realize that you are a wage slave pure and simple—a tool, a piece of merchandise in the hands of the capitalist exploiter.

There is a chance for you! Work for economic liberty; work for the Socialist system under which and under which alone you as well as milions of other wage slaves, will enjoy to the full the benefits of your labor and the blessings of the earth.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Twenty-four subscriptions to The Daily People were received this week, a large percentage of them coming from west of the Mississippi River and some from the Pacific Coast. In New York State and nearby places The Daily People is gotten through newsdealers. The need of a Socialist daily newspaper is beginning to be felt from one end of the country to the other, and The Daily People is here to supply that need.

The Daily People Finance Committee begs the indulgence of the party members, friends and sympathizers. Pressure of other matters has made the preparation of a report impossible just now. One will soon be forthcoming.

Comrade Strong, of Allegheny, Pa., desires to become a worker for the Party Press. He sends in two subscribers and asks for pointers as to how to secure readers. We wish to say, not only to him, but to all other comrades, that, as a general rule, a little experience is all that is needed. First, you must thoroughly realize that one of the most practical methods for spreading S. L. P. doctrine is by pushing the circulation of the S. L. P. Press. Then go among your shop-mates and acquaintances; make house to house canvasses; go any where and everywhere where wage workers are to be found and although your efforts are not crowned with success right at the start do not become discouraged. A Socialist has an invincible argument and experience will teach him how to present it to his fellow wage-slaves in such a manner that they will see the necessity for reading Socialist literature.

Comrade Muhlberg, of San Pedro, Cal., has a unique method of doing agitation that may furnish some pointers to those who desire them. In a letter of June 22 ordering 140 pamphlets, 15 books, viz. Leissagary's "History of the Commune" and Sue's "Silver Cross," and 800 leaflets of six different titles, he says:

"I have made it a custom of going around among the vessels in port selling pamphlets and giving away leaflets and papers to the ship's crews. Of the $15 lot that I lately ordered I have sold mostly all and expect to make use of some more."

Comrade Charles Pierson, writing from La Salle, Illinois, gives another pointer. He writes, "I did not do as well as expected, owing to the fact that several of the factories here refused me admittance, and hence I could not reach the men."

The pointer in both of the above is simply this "Go to the working class. Don't wait for it to come to us."

Good work is being done in Columbus, O for the Party Press. This week Oscar Freer sends in eight Weekly and two Monthly subs.

Indianapolis comrades are making a specialty of the Monthly. Every week we receive a list of subs from them. This week it contained ten new names, and one for the Weekly.

Comrade C. A. Johnson, of Minneapolis, Minn., is a steady worker for the Party Press. During the past week he has secured six Weekly and one Monthly subscribers.

Comrade Weiss is still at it in Brooklyn. Six Weekly and three Monthly subs. is his record for this week.

H. Jackson, of Briton, Pa., another steady hustler, secured five Weekly and five Monthly subscribers.

A new worker from Pennsylvania is Comrade Moller, of Curvensville, who secured one Weekly and four Monthly subs.

D. A. Reed, of Collinsville, Ills., is a new worker and starts off by getting four subs. for the Weekly People.

H. Grimberger, of Waterbury, Conn., has hustled for The Monthly People this week and secured thirty-six subscribers.

The following is the record of the work done by other comrades for the Party Press for the week ending July 3: Chas. Pierson, Rock Island, Ills., 38 Monthlies, 4 Weeklies; G. C. Smith, Lawrence, Mass., 4 Weeklies, 2 Monthlies; R. Berdan, Paterson, N. J., 7 Weeklies, 2 Monthlies; J. Vierthaler, Milwaukee, Wis., 5 Weeklies; F. Fellerman, Hartford, Conn., 5 Weeklies; L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal., 5 Weeklies; F. Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 5 Weeklies; O. Haselgrove, Baltimore, Md., 2 Weeklies, 11 Monthlies; Jeremiah Devine, N. Abington, Mass, 4 Weeklies, 1 Monthly; F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass., 8 Weeklies; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 9 Weeklies; B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., 6 Weeklies, 5 Monthlies. The total for the week ending Friday, July 3, is 185 Weeklies and 169 Monthlies. We hope that hereafter each week will show an increase over the previous one, instead of a falling off, however slight. If every one will take a hand these figures can be greatly improved.

A prize offered by the Eighth and Twelfth Assembly Districts of New York is herewith repeated. "The one securing the largest number of subscriptions for The Weekly People from June 15 to August 15, inclusive, to receive a copy of Victor Hugo's 'Les Miserables,' in three volumes, bound in half leather, each volume containing about 800 pages." The contest is open to any one.

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART I.

WOMEN IN THE PAST.—CONTINUED.

But not commerce alone was at a standstill. Traffic and industry had been extensively ruined during this protracted period; they could recover only by little and little. A large part of the population had become wild and demoralized, disused to all orderly occupations. During the wars, it was the robbing, plundering, despoiling and murdering armies of mercenaries, which crossed Germany from one end to the other, that burned and knocked down friend and foe alike; after the wars, it was countless robbers, beggars and swarms of vagabonds that threw the population into fear and terror, and impeded and destroyed commerce and traffic. For the female sex, in particular, a period of deep suffering had broken. Contempt for woman had made great progress during the times of license. The general lack of work weighed heaviest on their shoulders; by the thousands did these women, like the male vagabonds, infest the roads and woods, and filled the poorhouses and prisons of the Princes and the cities. On top of all these sufferings came the forcible ejectment of numerous peasant families by a land-hungry nobility.

Compelled, since the Reformation, ever more to bend before the might of the Princes, and rendered ever more dependent upon these through court offices and military posts, the nobility now sought to recoup itself double and threefold with the robbery of peasant estates for the injury it had sustained at the hand of the Princes. The Reformation offered the Princes the desired pretext to appropriate the rich Church estates, which they swallowed in innumerable acres of land. The Elector August of Saxony, for instance, had turned not less than three hundred clergy estates from their original purpose, up to the close of the sixteenth century.[33] Similarly did his brothers and cousins, the other Protestant Princes, and, above all, the Princes of Brandenburg. The nobility only imitated the example by bagging peasant estates, that had lost their owners, by ejecting free as well as serf peasants from house and home, and enriching themselves with the goods of these. To this particular end, the miscarried peasant revolts of the sixteenth century furnished the best pretext. After the first attempts had succeeded, never after were reasons wanting to proceed further in equally violent style. With the aid of all manner of chicaneries, vexations and twistings of the law—whereto the in-the-meantime naturalized Roman law lent a convenient handle—the peasants were bought out at the lowest prices, or they were driven from their property in order to round up the estates of noblemen. Whole villages, the peasant homes of as much as half a province, were in this way wiped out. Thus—so as to give a few illustrations—out of 12,543 peasant homestead appanages of knightly houses, which Mecklenburg still possessed at the time of the Thirty Years' War, there were, in 1848, only 1,213 left. In Pommerania, since 1628, not less than 12,000 peasant homesteads disappeared. The change in peasant economy, that took place in the course of the seventeenth century, was a further incentive for the expropriation of the peasant homesteads, especially to turn the last rests of the commons into the property of the nobility. The system of rotation of crops was introduced. It provided for a rotation in cultivation within given spaces of time. Corn lands were periodically turned into meadows. This favored the raising of cattle, and made possible the reduction of the number of farm-hands. The crowd of beggars and tramps grew ever larger, and thus one decree followed close upon the heels of another to reduce, by the application of the severest punishments, the number of beggars and vagabonds.

In the cities matters lay no better than in the country districts. Before then, women were active in very many trades in the capacity of working women as well as of employers. There were, for instance, female furriers in Frankfurt and in the cities of Sleswig; bakers, in the cities of the middle Rhine; embroiderers of coats of arms and beltmakers, in Cologne and Strassburg; strap-cutters, in Bremen; clothing-cutters in Frankfurt; tanners in Nuerenberg; gold spinners and beaters in Cologne.[34] Women were now crowded back. The abandonment of the pompous Roman Catholic worship alone, due to the Protestantizing of a large portion of Germany, either injured severely a number of trades, especially the artistic ones, or destroyed them altogether; and it was in just these trades that many working women were occupied. As, moreover, it ever happens when a social state of things is moving to its downfall, the wrongest methods are resorted to, and the evil is thereby aggravated. The sad economic condition of most of the German nations caused the decimated population to appear as *overpopulation*, and contributed greatly towards rendering a livelihood harder to earn, and towards prohibitions of marriage.

Not until the eighteenth century did a slow improvement of matters set in. The absolute Princes had the liveliest interest, with the view of raising the standard abroad of their rule, to increase the population of their territories. They needed this, partly in order to obtain soldiers for their wars, partly also to gain taxpayers, who were to raise the sums needed either for the army, or for the extravagant indulgences of the court, or for both. Following the example of Louis XIV of France, the majority of the then extraordinarily numerous princely courts of Germany displayed great lavishness in all manner of show and tinsel. This was especially the case in the matter of the keeping of mistresses, which stood in inverse ratio to the size and capabilities of the realms and realmlets. The history of these courts during the eighteenth century belongs to the ugliest chapters of history. Libraries are filled with the chronicles of the scandals of that era. One potentate sought to surpass the other in hollow pretentiousness, insane lavishness and expensive military fooleries. Above all, the most incredible was achieved in the way of female excesses. It is hard to determine which of the many German courts the palm should be assigned to for extravagance and for a life that vitiated public morals. To-day it was this, to-morrow that court; no German State escaped the plague. The nobility aped the Princes, and the citizens in the residence cities aped the nobility. If the daughter of a citizen's family had the luck to please a gentleman high at court, perchance the Serenissimus himself, in nineteen cases out of twenty she felt highly blessed by such favor, and her family was ready to hand her over for a mistress to the nobleman or the Prince. The same was the case with most of the noble families if one of their daughters found favor with the Prince. Characterlessness and shamelessness ruled over wide circles.

As bad as the worst stood matters in the two German capitals, Vienna and Berlin. In the Capua of Germany, Vienna, true enough, the strict Maria Theresa reigned through a large portion of the century, but she was impotent against the doings of a rich nobility, steeped in sensuous pleasures, and of the citizen circles that emulated the nobility. With the Chastity Commissions that she established, and in the aid of which an extensive spy-system was organized, she partly provoked bitterness, and partly made herself laughable. The success was zero. In frivolous Vienna, sayings like these made the rounds during the second half of the eighteenth century: "You must love your neighbor like yourself, that is to say, you must love your neighbor's wife as much as your own;" or "If the wife goes to the right, the husband may go to the left: if she takes an attendant, he takes a lady friend." In how frivolous a vein marriage and adultery were then taken, transpires from a letter of the poet Ew. Chr. von Kleist, addressed in 1751 to his friend Gleim. Among other things he there says: "You are already informed on the adventure of the Mark-Graf Heinrich. He sent his wife to his country seat and intends to divorce her because he found the Prince of Holstein in bed with her. . . . The Mark-Graf might have done better had he kept quiet about the affair, instead of now causing half Berlin and all the world to talk about him. Moreover, *such a natural thing should not be taken so ill*, all the more when, like the Mark-Graf, one is not so waterproof himself. Mutual repulsion, we all know, is unavoidable in married life: all husbands and wives are perforce unfaithful, due *to their illusions concerning other estimable persons. How can that be punished that one is forced to?*" On Berlin conditions, the English Ambassador, Lord Malmsbury, wrote in 1772: "Total corruption of morals pervades both sexes of all classes, whereto must be added the indigence, caused, partly through the taxes imposed by the present King, partly through the love of luxury that they took from his grandfather. The men lead a life of excesses with limited means, while the women are harpies, wholly bereft of shame. They yield themselves to him who pays best. Tenderness and true love are things unknown to them."[35]

Things were at their worst in Berlin under Frederick II, who reigned from 1786 to 1796. He led with the worst example; and his court chaplain, Zoellner, even lowered himself to the point of marrying the King to the latter's mistress, Julie von Boss, as a second wife, and as she soon thereupon died in childbed, Zoellner again consented to marry the King to the Duchess Sophie of Doenhoff as a second wife by the side of the Queen.

More soldiers and more taxpayers was the leading desire of the Princes. Louis XIV, after whose death France was entirely impoverished in money and men, set up pensions for parents who had ten children, and the pension was raised when they reached twelve children. His General, the Marshal of Saxony, even made to him the proposition to *allow marriages only for the term of five years.* Fifty years later, in 1741, Frederick the Great wrote, "I look upon men as a herd of deer in the zoological garden of a great lord, their only duty is to populate and fill the park."[36]

Later, he extensively depopulated his "deer park" with his wars, and then took pains to "populate" it again with foreign immigration.

The German multiplicity of States, that was in fullest bloom in the eighteenth century, presented a piebald map of the most different social conditions and legislative codes. While in the minority of the States efforts were made to improve the economic situation by promoting new industries, by making settlement easier and by changing the marriage laws in the direction of facilitating wedlock, the majority of the States and statelets remained true to their backward views, and intensified the unfavorable conditions of marriage and settlement for both men and women. Seeing, however, that human nature will not allow itself to be suppressed, all impediments and vexations notwithstanding, concubinage sprang up in large quantity, and the number of illegitimate children was at no time as large as in these days when the "paternal regiment" of the absolute Princes reigned in "Christian simplicity."

The married woman of citizen rank lived in strict seclusion. The number of her tasks and occupations was so large that, as a conscientious housewife, she had to be at her post early and late in order to fulfil her duties, and even that was possible to her only with the aid of her daughters. Not only were there to be filled those daily household duties which to-day, too, the small middle class housewife has to attend to, but a number of others also, which the housewife of to-day is freed from through modern development. She had to spin, weave, bleach and sew the linen and clothes, prepare soap and candles, brew beer,—in short, she was the veriest Cinderella: her only recreation was Sunday's church. Marriage was contracted only within the same social circles; the strongest and most ludicrous spirit of caste dominated all relations, and tolerated no transgression. The daughters were brought up in the same spirit; they were held under strict home seclusion; their mental education did not go beyond the bounds of the narrowest home relations. On top of this, an empty and hollow formality, meant as a substitute for education and culture, turned existence, that of woman in particular, into a veritable treadmill. Thus the spirit of the Reformation degenerated into the worst pedantry, that sought to smother the natural desires of man, together with his pleasures in life under a confused mass of rules and usages that affected to be "worthy," but that benumbed the soul.

Gradually, however, an economic change took place, that first seized Western Europe and then reached into Germany also. The discovery of America, the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, the opening of the sea route of the East Indies, the further discoveries that hinged on these, and finally, the circumnavigation of the earth, revolutionized the life and views of the most advanced nations of Europe. The unthought-of rapid expansion of the world's commerce, called to life through the opening of ever newer markets for European industry and products, revolutionized the old system of handicraft. Manufacture arose, and thence flowed large production. Germany—so long held back in her material development by her religious wars and her political disintegration, which religious differences promoted,—was finally dragged into the stream of the general progress. In several quarters, large production developed under the form of manufacture: flax and wool-spinning and weaving, the manufacture of cloth, mining, the manufacture of iron, glass and porcelain, transportation, etc. Fresh labor power, female included, came into demand. But this newly rising form of industry met with the most violent opposition on the part of the craftsmen, ossified in the guild and medieval corporation system, who furiously fought every change in the method of production, and saw therein a mortal enemy. The French Revolution supervened. While casting aside the older order in France, the Revolution also carried into Germany a fresh current of air, which the old order could not for long resist. The French invasion hastened the downfall,—this side of the Rhine also—of the old, worn-out system. Whatever attempt was made, during the period of re-action after 1815, to turn back the wheels of time, the New had grown too strong, it finally remained victorious.

The rise of machinery, the application of the natural sciences to the process of production, the new roads of commerce and traffic burst asunder the last vestiges of the old system. The guild privileges, the personal restrictions, the mark and jurisdictional rights, together with all that thereby hung, walked into the lumber room. The strongly increased need of labor-power did not rest content with the men, it demanded woman also as a cheaper article. The conditions that had become untenable, had to fall; and they fell. The time thereto,—long wished-for by the newly risen class, the bourgeoisie or capitalist class—arrived the moment Germany gained her political unity. The capitalist class demanded imperiously the unhampered development of all the social forces; it demanded this for the benefit of its own capitalist interests, that, at that time, and, to a certain degree, were also the interests of the large majority. Thus came about the liberty of trade, the liberty of emigration, the removal of the barriers to marriage.—in short, that whole system of legislation that designates itself "liberal." The old-time reactionists expected from these measures the smash-up of morality. The late Adolph Ketteler of Mainz moaned, already in 1865, accordingly, before the new social legislation had become general, "that the tearing down of the existing barriers to matrimony meant the dissolution of wedlock, it being now possible for the married to run away from each other at will." A pretty admission that the moral bonds of modern marriage are so weak, that only *compulsion* can be relied on to hold the couple together.

The circumstance, on the one hand, that the now naturally more numerous marriages effected a rapid increase of population, and, on the other, that the gigantically developing industry of the new era brought on many ills, never known of before, caused the spectre of "overpopulation" to rise anew. Conservative and liberal economists pull since then the same string. We shall show what this fear of so-called overpopulation means; we shall trace the feared phenomenon back to its legitimate source. Among those who suffer of the overpopulation fear, and who demand the restriction of freedom to marry, especially for workingmen, belong particularly Prof. Ad. Wagner. According to him, workingmen marry too early, in comparison with the middle class. He, along with others of this opinion, forget that the male members of the higher class, marry later only in order to wed "according to their station in life," a thing they can not do before they have obtained a certain position. For this abstinence, the males of the higher classes indemnify themselves with prostitution. Accordingly, it is to prostitution that the working class are referred, the moment marriage is made difficult for, or, under certain circumstances, is wholly forbidden to them. But, then, let none wonder at the results, and let him not raise an outcry at the "decline of morality," if the women also, who have the same desires as the men, seek to satisfy in illegitimate relations the promptings of the strongest impulse of nature. Moreover, the views of Wagner are at fisticuffs with the interests of the capitalist class, which, oddly enough, shares his views: it needs many "hands," so as to own cheap labor-power that may fit it out for competition in the world's market. With such petty notions and measures, born of a near-sighted philistinism, the gigantic growing ills of the day are not to be healed.

PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT.

CHAPTER I.

SEXUAL INSTINCTS, WEDLOCK, CHECKS AND OBSTRUCTIONS TO MARRIAGE.

Plato thanked the gods for eight favors bestowed upon him. As the first, he took it that they had granted him to be born a freeman, and not a slave; the second was that he was created a man, and not a woman. A similar thought finds utterance in the morning prayer of the Jews. They pray: "Blessed be Thou, our God and Lord of Hosts, *who hast not created me a woman;*" the Jewish women, on the other hand, pray at the corresponding place: "*who hast created me after thy will.*" The contrast in the position of the sexes can find no more forcible expression than it does in the saying of Plato, and in the different wording of the prayer among the Jews. The male is the real being, the master of the female. With the views of Plato and the Jews, the larger part of men agree, and many a woman also wishes that she had been born a man and not a woman. In this view lies reflected the condition of the female sex.

Wholly irrespective of the question whether woman is oppressed as a female proletarian, as sex she is oppressed in the modern world of private property. A number of checks and obstructions, unknown to man, exist for her, and hem her in at every step. Much that is allowed to man is forbidden to her; a number of social rights and privileges, enjoyed by the former, are, if exercised by her, a blot or a crime. She suffers both as a social and a sex entity, and it is hard to say in which of the two respects she suffers more.

Of all the natural impulses human beings are instinct with, along with that of eating and drinking, the sexual impulse is the strongest. The impulse to procreate the species is the most powerful expression of the "Will to Live." It is implanted most strongly in every normally developed human being. Upon maturity, its satisfaction is an actual necessity for man's physical and mental health. Luther was perfectly right when he said: "He who would resist the promptings of Nature, and prevent their going as Nature wills and must, *what else does he but endeavor to resist Nature's being Nature, that fire burn, water wet, that man eat, drink or sleep?*" These are words that should be graven in granite over the doors of our churches, in which the "sinful flesh" is so diligently preached against. More strikingly no physician or physiologist can describe the necessity for the satisfaction of the craving for love on the part of a healthy being,—a craving that finds its expression in sexual intercourse.

It is a commandment of the human being to itself—a commandment that it must obey if it wishes to develop normally and in health—that it neglect the exercise of no member of its body, deny gratification to no natural impulse. Each member must fill the function, that it is intended for by Nature, on penalty of atrophy and disease. The laws of the physical development of man must be studied and observed, the same as those of mental development. The mental activity of the human being is the expression of the physiologic composition of its organs. The complete health of the former is intimately connected with the health of the latter. A disturbance of the one inevitably has a disturbing effect upon the other. Nor do the so-called animal desires take lower rank than the so-called mental ones. One set and the other are effects of the identical combined organism: the influence of the two upon each other is mutual and continuous. This holds good for man as for woman.

It follows that, the knowledge of the properties of the sexual organs is just as needful as that of the organs which generate mental activity; and that man should bestow upon the cultivation of both an equal share of care. He should realize that organs and impulses, found implanted in every human being, and that constitute a very essential part of his nature, aye, that, at certain periods of his life control him absolutely, must not be objects of secrecy, of false shame and utter ignorance. It follows, furthermore, that a knowledge of the physiology and anatomy of the sexual organs, together with their functions, should be as general among men and women as any other branch of knowledge. Equipped with an accurate knowledge of our physical make-up, we would look upon many a condition in life with eyes different from those we now do. The question of removing existing evils would then, of itself, force itself upon those before whom society, to-day, passes by in silence and solemn bashfulness, notwithstanding these evils command attention within the precincts of every family. In all other matters, knowledge is held a virtue, the worthiest and most beautiful aim of human endeavor—only not knowledge in such matters that are in closest relation with the essence and health of our own *Ego*, as well as the basis of all social development.

Kant says: "Man and woman only jointly constitute the complete being: one sex supplements the other." Schopenhauer declares: "The sexual impulse is the fullest utterance of the will to live, hence it is the concentration of all will-power;" again: "The affirmative declaration of the will in favor of life is concentrated in the act of generation, and that is its most decisive expression." In accord therewith says Mainlaender: "The center of gravity of human life lies in the sexual instinct: it alone secures life to the individual, which is that which above all else it wants. . . . To nothing else does man devote greater earnestness than to the work of procreation, and for the care of none other does he compress and concentrate the intensity of his will so demonstratively as for the act of procreation." Finally, and before all of these, Buddha said: "The sexual instinct is sharper than the hook wild elephants are tamed with: it is hotter than flames; it is like an arrow, shot into the spirit of man."[1]

Such being the intensity of the sexual impulse, it is no wonder that sexual abstinence at the age of maturity affects the nervous system and the whole organism of man, with one sex as well as the other, in such a manner that it often leads to serious disturbances and manias; under certain conditions even to insanity and death. True enough, the sexual instinct does not assert itself with equal violence in all natures, and much can be done towards curbing it by education and self-control, especially by avoiding the excitation resulting upon certain conversations and reading. It is thought that, in general, the impulse manifests itself lighter with women than with men, and that the irritation is less potent with the former. It is even claimed that, with woman, there is a certain repugnance for the sexual act. The minority is small of those with whom physiologic and psychologic dispositions and conditions engender such a difference. "The union of the sexes is one of the great laws of living Nature; man and woman are subject to it the same as all other creatures, and can not transgress it, especially at a ripe age, without their organism suffering more or less in consequence."[2] Debay quotes among the diseases, caused by the inactivity of the sexual organs, satyriasis, nymphomania and hysteria; and he adds that celibacy exercises upon the intellectual powers, especially with woman, a highly injurious effect. On the subject of the harmfulness of sexual abstinence by woman, Busch says:[3] "Abstinence has in all ages been considered particularly harmful to woman; indeed it is a fact that excess, as well as abstinence, affects the female organism equally harmfully, and the effects show themselves more pronouncedly and intensively than with the male organism."

It may, accordingly, be said that man—be the being male or female—is complete in the measure in which, both as to organic and spiritual culture, the impulses and manifestations of life utter themselves in the sexes, and in the measure that they assume character and expression. Each sex of itself reached its highest development. "With civilized man," says Klenke in his work "Woman as Wife," "the compulsion of procreation is placed under the direction of the moral principle, and that is guided by reason. This is true. Nevertheless, it were an impossible task, even with the highest degree of freedom, wholly to silence the imperative command for the preservation of the species,—a command that Nature planted in the normal, organic expression of the both sexes. Where healthy individuals, male or female, have failed in their life-time to honor this duty towards Nature, *it is not with them an instance of the free exercise of the will*, even when so given out, or when, in self-deception, it is believed to be such. *It is the result of social obstacles, together with the consequences which follow in their wake; they restricted the right of Nature;* they allowed the organs to wilt; allowed the stamp of decay and of sexual vexation—both in point of appearance and of character—to be placed upon the whole organism; and, finally, brought on—through nervous distempers—diseased inclinations and conditions both of body and of mind. The man becomes feminine, the woman masculine in shape and character. The sexual contrast not having reached realization in the plan of Nature, each human being *remained one-sided, never reached its supplement, never touched the acme of its existence.*" In her work, "The Moral Education of the Young in Relation to Sex," Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell says: "The sexual impulse exists as an indispensable condition of life, and as the basis of society. It is the greatest force in human nature. Often undeveloped, not even an object of thought, but none the less the *central fire of life*, this inevitable instinct is the natural protector against any possibility of extinction."

Science agrees, accordingly, with the opinion of the philosophers, and with Luther's healthy common sense. It follows that every human being has, not merely the right, but also the duty to satisfy the instincts, that are intimately connected with its inmost being, that, in fact, imply existence itself. Hindered therein, rendered impossible to him through social institutions or prejudices, the consequence is that man is checked in the development of his being, is left to a stunted life and retrogression. What the consequences thereof are, our physicians, hospitals, insane asylums and prisons can tell,—to say nothing of the thousands of tortured family lives. In a book that appeared in Leipsic, the author is of the opinion: "The sexual impulse is neither moral nor immoral; it is merely natural, like hunger and thirst: Nature knows nothing of morals;"[4] nevertheless bourgeois society is far from a general acceptance of this maxim.

The opinion finds wide acceptance among physicians and physiologists that even a defectively equipped marriage is better than celibacy. Experience agrees therewith. In Bavaria there were, in 1858, not less than 4,899 lunatics, 2,576 (53 per cent.) of them men, 2,323 (47 per cent.) women. The men were, accordingly, more strongly represented than the women. Of the whole number, however, the *unmarried* of both sexes ran up to 81 per cent., the married only to 17 per cent., while of 2 per cent. the conjugal status was unknown. As a mitigation of the shocking disproportion between the unmarried and the married, the circumstance may be taken into consideration that a not small number of the unmarried were insane from early childhood. In Hanover, in the year 1856, there was one lunatic to every 457 unmarried, 564 widowed, 1,316 married people. Most strikingly is the effect of unsatisfied sexual relations shown in the number of suicides among men and women. In general, the number of suicides is in all countries considerably higher among men than among women. To every 1,000 female suicides there were in:[5]

England	from	1872-76	2,861	men
Sweden	"	1870-74	3,310	"
France	"	1871-76	3,695	"
Italy	"	1872-77	4,000	"
Prussia	"	1871-78	4,239	"
Austria	"	1873-78	4,586	"

But between the ages of 21 and 30, the figures for *female suicides is in all European countries higher than for males*, due, as Oettingen assumes, to sexual causes. In Prussia the percentages of suicides between the ages of 21 to 30 were on an average:

Years.	Males.	Females.
1869-72	15.8	21.4
1873-78	15.7	21.5

In Saxony there were to every 1,000 suicides between the ages of 21 to 30 these averages:

Years.	Males.	Females.
1854	14.95	18.64
1868	14.71	18.79

For widowed and divorced people also the percentage of suicides is larger than the average. In Saxony there are seven times as many suicides among divorced males, and three times as many among divorced females, as the average of suicides for males and females respectively. Again, suicide is more frequent among divorced and widowed men and women when they are childless. Of 491 widowed suicides in Prussia (119 males and 372 females) 353 were childless.

Taking into further consideration that, among the unmarried women, who are driven to suicide between the ages of 21 and 30, many a one is to be found, who takes her life by reason of being betrayed, or because she can not bear the consequences of a "slip," the fact remains that sexual reasons play a decided *role* in suicide at this age. Among female suicides, the figure is large also for those between the ages of 16 to 20, and the fact is probably likewise traceable to unsatisfied sexual instinct, disappointment in love, secret pregnancy, or betrayal. On the subject of the women of our days as sexual beings, Professor V. Krafft-Ebing expresses himself: "A not-to-be-underrated source of insanity with woman lies in her social position. Woman, by nature more prone than man to sexual needs, at least in the ideal sense of the term, knows no honorable means of gratifying the need other than marriage. At the same time marriage offers her the only support. Through unnumbered generations her character has been built in this direction. Already the little girl plays mother with her doll. Modern life, with its demands upon culture, offers ever slighter prospects of gratification through marriage. This holds especially with the upper classes, among whom marriage is contracted later and more rarely. While man—as the stronger, and thanks to his greater intellectual and physical powers, together with his social position—supplies himself easily with sexual gratification, or, taken up with some occupation, that engages all his energies, easily finds an equivalent, these paths are closed to single women. This leads, in the first place, consciously or unconsciously, to dissatisfaction with herself and the world, to morbid brooding. For a while, perhaps, relief is sought in religion; but in vain. Out of religious enthusiasm, there spring with or without masturbation, a host of nervous diseases, among which hysteria and insanity are not rare. Only thus is the fact explainable that insanity among single women occurs with greatest frequency between the ages of 25 and 35, that is to say, the time when the bloom of youth, and, along therewith, hope vanishes; while with men, insanity occurs generally between the ages of 35 and 50, the season of the strongest efforts in the struggle for existence.

"It certainly is no accident that, hand in hand with increasing celibacy, the question of the emancipation of woman has come ever more on the order of the day. I would have the question looked upon as a danger signal, set up by the social position of woman in modern society—a position that grows ever more unbearable, due to increasing celibacy; I would have it looked upon as the danger signal of a justified demand, made upon modern society, to furnish woman some equivalent for that to which she is assigned by Nature, and which modern social conditions partly deny her."[6]

And Dr. H. Plotz, in his work, "Woman in Nature and Ethnography,"[7] says in the course of his explanation of the results of ungratified sexual instincts upon unmarried women: "It is in the highest degree noteworthy, not for the physician only, but also for the anthropologist, that there is an effective and never-failing means to check this process of decay (with old maids), but even to cause the lost bloom to return, if not in all its former splendor yet in a not insignificant degree.—*pity only that our social conditions allow, or make its application possible only in rare instances.* The means consist in regular and systematic sexual intercourse. The sight is not infrequent with girls, who lost their bloom, or were not far from the withering point, yet, the opportunity to marry having been offered them, that, shortly after marriage, their shape began to round up again, the roses to return to their cheeks, and their eyes to recover their one-time brightness. *Marriage is, accordingly, the true fountain of youth for the female sex.* Thus Nature has her firm laws, that implacably demand their dues. No 'vita praeter naturam,' no unnatural life, no attempt at accommodation to incompatible conditions of life, passes without leaving noticeable traces of degeneration, upon the animal, as well as upon the human organism."

(To be continued.)

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in The Sunday People, and in The Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in The Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

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[33] Johann Janssen. Vol. III.

[34] Dr. Karl Buecher, "Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter."

[35] Johann Scherr: "Geschichte der Deutschen Frauenwelt."

[36] Karl Kautsky. "Ueber den Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft." Vienna, 1880.

[1] Mainlaender, "Philosophie der Erlösung." Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1886, E. Koenitzer.

[2] D. A. Debay, "Hygiene et Physiologue du Marriage." Paris, 1884. Quoted in "Im Freien Reich" by Ioma v. Troll-Borostyani, Zurich, 1884.

[3] "Das Geschlechtsleben des Weibes, in physiologischer, pathologischer und therapeutischer Hinsicht dargestellt."

[4] "Die Prostitution vor dem Gesetz," by Veritas. Leipsic, 1893.
ance of this maxim.

[5] V. Oettingen, "Moralstatistik." Erlangen, 1882.

[6] "Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie," Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1883.

[7] Vol. II. Leipsic, 1887.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,060
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

"THE DAILY PEOPLE'S" THIRD ANNIVERSARY.

[By Sam French.]

All Hail, the conquering S. L. P.!
To victory rushing by—
All Hail, to the workers' Champion!
On its forces our class rely—
Forward! its watchword; Freedom its goal,
It resolute sweeps along,
And scatters apace as it gains in the race,
The forces of Fraud and Wrong.

Leader in thought and action;
Teacher of truths sublime;
First in the van of Progress;
Hope of the future time,
Guide of the struggling Proletaires
Who Liberty's pathway seek;
Pride of the valiant fighters,
Arouser of weak and meek—
Telling the workers to rise in their might
And strike as but true men can—
A united blow that will overthrow
The rule of the Bourgeois clan.
Teaching the Revolution
To victims of toil and pain,
Who have nothing but wage slaves' chains to lose
And a glorious world to gain.
Terror of all misleaders;
Foe to the toilers' foes;
Foremost to fight for Truth and Right,
With swift unerring blows.
Dreaded by fakir and heeler;
Feared by the thieving band—
Hated by sharper and shyster,
Over the entire land.
By preacher and teacher and lackey,
Tools of the robber crew,
With brains that are prostituted
For the crumbs that their masters strew—

All Hail, the Emancipator!
The weapon to set us free—
'Neath its banner bright, will our class unite,
And its enemies force to flee.
All Hail, to its fearless, aggressive Press,
That we honor on this Birthday!
The Beacon Light in our class's fight
To abolish King Capital's sway.
All Hail, to The Daily People!
All Hail to our Pioneer!
Let us greet it to-day, with a loud Hurray!
And a rousing, hearty cheer.

HOW TO "ARBITRATE."

The Reading Company statement for the month of May, just issued, shows that at the close of October last, when the miners' strike came to an end, the Reading had a deficit on four months' operations of $1,910,518 and was $3,508,223 behind the corresponding period last year; now, however, the company has a surplus of $4,265,506, or nearly a million dollars more than at the end of May in the fiscal year of 1902. In other words, the enormous losses of the long anthracite coal strike HAVE BEEN OVERCOME IN SEVEN MONTHS.—That much did arbitration—returning to work pending arbitration—do for one of the combatants, the capitalist.

And what did it do for the other combatant, the workingman? Did it recoup him for the losses sustained during the struggle? And if, perchance, it did not, or could not do quite that, did it at least place him on a better footing than he had before? The question sounds ironical. In sight of the enormous profits made by the Reading, profits so enormous that the more than three million deficit during the strike is wiped out, and a handsome surplus is left—ALL WITHIN SEVEN MONTHS—, the question is almost cruelly ironical. Out of whose hide, out of whose marrow and bone, was that stupendous profit squeezed within so short a time? Out of none other than the workingman, the recent striker or combatant. There is none other to squeeze it from. Theory, accordingly, answers the question whether the arbitrated workingman was also so arbitrated that he is now better off." But theory may be left aside. It is not needed where facts speak. And they have spoken, and are loudly speaking. The recent Scranton convention of miners brought out the fact that the miners are now worse off than they were before: seeming gains, made in one direction, are more than offset by losses in others—how else could that Reading surplus of $4,265,506 be accounted for, or come about?—, and the fleecing process goes on with redoubled intensity.

ARBITRATION is a one-edged sword, that leaves unscathed the head of the Class that wields it, and cuts off the head of 'tother.

To be ARBITRATED is but a fumigated term for to be EXECUTED.

The emancipation of the Working Class, which means the emancipation of the people from the yoke of the plundering Capitalist Class, awaits the day when the Working Class—marching over the prostrate bodies of the John-Mitchell-Edgar-E.-Clark-Sam-Gompers economic outposts, and over the prostrate body of the pal of these, the Bogus Socialist, alias Social Democratic party, political out-runners of the Capitalist Class—shall have voted the SWORD OF ARBITRATION into its own hands—and start in to ARBITRATE the Capitalist System of Tyranny.

"EXPERIMENTS."

J. A. Edgerton, the National Secretary of the People's party, has issued a call for an "unofficial and informal conference of Reformers" to meet in Denver on July 27 and "provide a political home for the large army of voters who are not Republicans, Cleveland Democrats or Karl Marx Socialists." People who are posted pronounce the effusion "the death-rattle of the Populist party." The opinion is borne out by the whole tenor of the call. In this sense, even if in no other, the call is a historic document. It is historic, however, or we may rather say classic in another sense also. It is a documentary proof, testimony and monumental demonstration of the correctness of the Socialist Labor Party attitude, when it refused to be lured into Populism as "American Socialism," pronounced the thing from top to bottom an ash-barrel of back-number bourgeois radicalism, false in premises, false in reasoning and incoherent—and was roundly denounced with all manner of epithets for so holding. It will be unnecessary to take up National Secretary Edgerton's "arguments" in detail. One will serve as a good example of the lot. He—this National Secretary of what was called "the Socialism of America"—says on the subject of Socialism:

> "All that the most ardent supporter of Socialism can claim for it is that, as advocated, it is a theory, an experiment. However well it looks on paper, it still is untried. Does any rational man imagine that the great conservative American people will turn over all existing institutions to substitute therefor an experiment? Does history teach such a thing? Or common sense?"

If this means anything it means the setting up of a new "philosophy of history"—one whose distinctive characteristic is that it has not a single historical leg on which to stand, and that its conception of humanity on the stage of history is that of inventors of patent machines in a workshop.

Let's trace history back—

What about the theory of "the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without international agreement"?—mark you, not the coinage of silver merely; not even with the 16 to 1 addition; but with the full program as stated above—had it ever been tried before? And yet Populism had no names too severe to apply to those who did not "see things in those lamps." But lest National Secretary Edgerton may claim for his conception of historic evolution that the miserable fate of Populism proves his theory in that "the rational and great conservative American people refused to try the experiment,"—lest he take that dodge, let's cite a few of the "experiments" that WERE tried by great nations, the "great conservative American people" included.

And to begin with this very people. We refer Mr. Edgerton to a certain publication called "The Federalist." It was a magazine, issued shortly after the Revolution. None but acknowledged leaders in the country's birth contributed to it. The issue was to abolish the "Confederacy," a system of government that had often before been tried in human experience, and set up a new system—the present system—NEVER TRIED BEFORE, and assailed for that very reason. Well, we did try the experiment—and liked it.

And before that was our Revolution. The sight of colonists tearing themselves loose by force of arms from the mother country and setting up an independent country had never been tried before.—We did, and succeeded.

The sight of capitalist interests rising against and hamstringing feudalism, and setting up a government on the new plan had never been seen before in England or elsewhere; the experiment was untried.—They tried it, and liked it.

Back of that, feudalism was an untried experiment when it was introduced. It came in, and did its work.

For further luminous instances Mr. Edgerton is referred to the work of one of the most illustrious sons of our "great conservative American people"—Lewis H. Morgan—who in his "Ancient Society" gives the instances in succession of the great periods of human life, at each of which institutions previously unknown and untried came in.

From all these instances the principle of human guidance has been—not that of staying in a burning house until the experiment was made of how to live without that structure, but to get out betimes, and try the experiment of living according to the changed conditions. In each of these instances of successively recurring burning structures, some people lost their heads, leaped out of the windows and dashed out their brains—as Populism has done in our own times; others, too slow to perceive, and too anxious to save their trinkets and fetishes, stayed in too long and were buried under the burning ruins, before they could get out—as the Tories in the American Revolution, the Southern Bourbons in the Civil War, etc., etc. But others, the third and sensible set, "caught on," got out and started the "experiment"—as the Revolutionary Fathers, and as the Socialists of to-day.

And what was it that these men regularly caught on? It was the principle of Social Evolution, which, at stated periods in the history of the human race, says to man in thunder tones:

> "Live—and 'substitute an experiment' by getting out of the burning social structure; or stay in, be 'greatly conservative,'—and die."

Humanity has on the whole preferred to live—hence the "untried experiment" of Socialism is assured.

IS THIS FUNNY OR IS IT SERIOUS?

In the correspondence column of this issue, and under the above head, publicity is given to the doings of United States Commissioner Alexander in this city. The gentleman interrogates the witnesses who accompany applicants for their naturalization papers whether the applicant is a member of a "Socialist organization" and whether he believes in "murder," etc.

There is a serious feature to such conduct. The Socialist Labor Party has been a recognized political party in this State for the last twelve years; during this period, here and in many other States of the Union, the party's vote has been canvassed and reported the same as any other party's. Making ample allowance for Commissioner Alexander's ignorance, he can not be ignorant of that fact. When, accordingly, he interrogates a witness for naturalization papers whether the applicant is a Socialist, the Commissioner makes himself guilty of a serious misdemeanor. His bracketing of Socialism with "murder" and "killing" only adds the feature of a willful affront to an otherwise serious enough crime. Affronts are not remedial at law. But crime is. Moreover, seeing we are not living under Anarchy, where every man is a law unto himself, as Commissioner Alexander evidently would like, there are ways of calling this Jack-in-office to account, and making him behave, or ousting him. The serious part of the affair can and will be duly attended to.

But the affair also has its funny side. The simpleton of the proverb, who closes up the well after the child has fallen in, is not "in it" with Commissioner Alexander; not even the lunk-headed Mexican Governor of the former Mexican territory of Texas, who expressed the wish of keeping even the birds from crossing the Texas frontier from the side of the United States, is "in it" with our Commissioner. Our Commissioner is comparable only to the silly hen that has hatched out duck's eggs among her own, and flutters all over at the sight of the goslings taking to their element and the water, and that thus imagines she can counteract the evolution that she herself has promoted. As a limb of capitalist Government, Commissioner Alexander has hen-like helped to hatch out Socialism in America. The thing is there. It will grow and spread right here as a native product, hatched by American capitalism into a vigor and luxuriance of power such as the Socialism of no country will be able to display. And there are our Commissioners Alexander clucking and fluttering like silly hens vainly seeking to undo their own work.

That is funny—to the Socialists; not to the Commissioners Alexander, who, ferently from the hen, will not be simply ignored by triumphant Socialism, but will be put to the sad alternative of working or starving. Mayhap that's why "Socialism" and "killing" are one in his mind.

All the more killingly funny.

ANTI-SEMITISM.

The New York International Library Publishing Co. has brought out an English translation, from the French original, of Bernard Lazare's work, "Anti-Semitism, Its History and Causes." What with the recent Kishineff butcheries and the literature—pro-Semitic, anti-Semitic and otherwise—that these butcheries have given rise to, the Semitic question has received fresh impetus. Bernard Lazare's work fits in with such setting.

That there is a Semitic Question none will deny. Wherein, however, the Question consists is in itself a question that will receive different answers. Bernard Lazare's work is not valuable for the answer it gives: in fact, the answer it gives follows in the main the beaten and false path of philo-Semitism in general. The value of Bernard Lazare's work lies in the mass of facts that it brings together, some of which are new, and which, indirectly at any rate, point the way to the correct answer to what may be said is becoming a "Vexed Question."

Let loose upon the world a "Traveller from Mars," or any of the "Innocents" that Voltaire used to choose in his criticisms of men and things, and what would be his experience? He would find that every time anyone with fact and argument, shows that a certain Jew is conceited and superficial, forthwith up jumps the philo-Semite and denounces the utterer as an anti-Semite; every time anyone, with fact and argument, shows that a certain Jew is a characterless worm up jumps the philo-Semite and denounces the utterer as an anti-Semite; every time anyone, with fact and argument, shows a certain Jew to be double-faced and a swindler, up jumps the philo-Semite and denounces the utterer as an anti-Semite; every time anyone with facts and argument shows a certain Jew to be physically or morally unclean, or a coward, forthwith up jumps the philo-Semite and denounces the utterer as an anti-Semite. The latest is the most remarkable instance of the sort: The Russian Minister at Washington, having said that many of the Kishineff Jews were usurers, forthwith up jumped a Jew Editor of a Jewish paper in this city, Mr. Kasriel Sarahson, and declared that such words were "an insult to the 10,000,000 Jews of the world." What conclusion, from such an experience, could our Traveller from Mars arrive at other than that the Jews (Semites) are all conceited, superficial, characterless worms, double-faced, swindlers, physically and morally unclean, cowards and usurers? Seeing that any one such justifiable charge, brought against a concrete Jew is forthwith pronounced "Anti-Semitism," what conclusion could that Traveller arrive at but that Semitism (the Jew) was the incarnation of all these vices, a veritable compound of vileness?—And that opinion, be it noted, would be gathered, not from the "Anti" but from the "Philo" Semites.

Such would be our Traveller's experience on one side. But he would be making other experience simultaneously. He would make the experience of meeting many a Jew without any of these vices, let alone all these vices together. He would make still further experience. He would meet many a Gentile (non-Jew) with one or more of these vices in his make-up—occasionally, all of them together. His first notion as to "Semitism" thus receives a violent shock, a shock from which it cannot recover. Presently, however, further experience gives his original notion regarding "Semitism" a blow that knocks it out wholly. He will experience that, probed to the bottom, no one hates the Jew as such. Probed to the bottom, the manifestations of Jew-hatred have roots wholly free from the Jew idea, and absolutely alike to and the same with feelings that produce hatred or opposition between non-Jews and non-Jews. The few instances that would seem at first blush to be exceptions, prove, upon closer inspection, to be none, and to fall under the general category. There ARE Gentiles who DO bristle up at the word Jew. But why do they? Their conduct is no other than that of the man who experiences a shiver at the bare word "horse," simply because the word conjures up to his memory some sad experience made with some horse. Question such a man, and it becomes clear that he bears no animosity to the equine race; even if he did, his experience is not that of all others, and the equine race continues in good repute. And so in these instances of Jew-hate. At this stage of the inquiry the conclusion is obvious—there is no such thing as Anti-Semitism; whatever else may go by that name, the thing itself does not exist. And the conclusion will hold good to the end of the inquiry.

What! There is no Anti-Semitism? Then, perchance, there is no Semitism, either?

From the most orthodox to the most "liberal" or "Reformed Jew" upholders of Semitism there is a habit of resorting to a theory, variously termed by them the "Spirit of Judaism," the "Message of Judaism," etc.,—In short a principle, as the foundation or the feature of Semitism. The alleged "principle," as peculiar to Judaism, will not stand inquiry for one moment. There is no "principle," "spirit" or "message" claimed to be Judaic, and however exalted, that is original with Jewish theology or creed. They were all uttered before; they were borrowed, and in many instances bodily incorporated by the inspired Prophets and Judges. That the upholders of "Semitism" frequently base their "Semitism" upon that is only an evidence that they realize the slipperiness of the ground under them. Their resort to the "Spirit" or "Message," etc., of Judaism is like the flutter of a bird that knows not its own bearings, and that by its conduct confuses the hunter. The Question of Judaism, or Semitism obviously becoming a vexed Question, is only rendered confusing by such manoeuvres—and its solution put off.

In order to get at the bottom of the question it is necessary to hold the upholders of "Semitism," the believers in it, closely to their own premises. It is at this point that Bernard Lazare's work becomes of exceptional value, through the facts that it puts together. What are the real premises of "Semitism?"—The SEED OF ABRAHAM; in other words, the racial unity of the Jew. The work of Bernard Lazare demolishes these premises. The passages upon this head read like De Foe's satire "The True-born Englishman," which called attention to the fact than the alleged Anglo-Saxon was dashed and doused and strained by all the races of civilization. So does Bernard Lazare call attention to the fact that the Jew of to-day (Semite) is of all imaginable races, and Bernard Lazare backs himself up not only with facts, culled from modern history, but with proverbs from orthodox Jewish works and even with utterances of such Fathers of the Jewish Church as Maimonides. The theory of the "seed of Abraham" is proved a myth, the ethnical, material basis of "Semitism" is shattered, the groundwork of "Semitism" is taken from under it.

Is there, then, no "Semitism!" The fact remains that there IS such a thing. It is a solid fact; a fact that can be weighed, measured and even reduced to statistical tables. What, then, is its feature? Wherein does it consist? Without a principle or mission, unique and born from its own spiritual womb, and without a unique, exclusive ethnic basis, what is it that holds the thing together? Such an apparition is phenomenal, in what does the phenomenon consist?

Once the mind is cleared of the perturbing causes; once the cobwebs concerning the imaginary "Message of Israel" and concerning the myth of the "seed of Abraham"—the alleged body and the alleged soul, so to speak, of "Semitism"—are brushed aside, the answer sticks out clear as a pike;—and the answer points to a phenomenon, indeed; to a phenomenon unique in the history of the human race; a phenomenon that is in itself a compendium of psychology, an electric light on vast domains in the philosophy of history.

The answer is: THE BASIS OF SEMITISM IS GENTILE THEOLOGY. In other words: Semitism is not a cause, it is a result. Let Gentile theology drop, and the bottom and the bonds, on which Semitism stands and that hold it together, fall out and melt away, and Semitism itself is dissolved. So long as a certain book—a collection of sublime ideas; beastly thoughts and acts, disjointed and jumbled scraps of history, tatters of fiction, shreds of lyric prose poetry in which the Jew is the central figure—is held up as sacred; so long as a Jew is made a God, a Jewess the "Mother of God," another Jew the step-father of God, and whole rafts of other Jews are worshipped as members of a nobility that surrounds the throne of that celestial temporal King—so long, in other words, as the Gentile world predominantly manufactures itself into a debtor to another set of folks of A DEBT TOO HUGE AND CRUSHING EVER TO BE REPAID, just so long will there be "Anti-Semitism"—that is, that manifestation of human nature that has no love for the creditor whose account is uncancelable; and just so long will there be the reflex of "Anti-Semitism," to wit, "Semitism," that is, that other manifestation of human nature that finds a morbid delight in glory, even if its halo be borrowed, and even if, occasionally, the halo may turn to thorny crowns.

Numerous are the instances of the utter bewilderment in which the ruling class of modern society, together with their "intellectuals," the so-called "leaders of thought," stand before the perplexing problems of the day. Numerous are the instances in which these rulers and "intellectuals" act in sight of these pressing problems the way the man acts who, knowing not how to swim, suddenly falls into the water. The first thing he does is the last thing he should do. He throws up his hands and thus aids the law of gravitation to carry him under water:—

The capitalist social system, with its reduction of the area of production, brings on a scarcity of food. In sight of short rations for many, the modern "intellectuals" conclude that there is an over-population, and they address themselves to meet the phenomenon with Malthusianism, or the still more insane neo-Malthusianism, whereas the fact is that, so far from there being too many, there are too few people to-day to produce all the foodstuffs that are procurable, and that civilized society needs.—Malthusianism and neo-Malthusianism only aggravate the evil.

The capitalist social system lowers ever more the earnings of the Working Class. In sight of the privations of the workers, due to small earnings, the modern "intellectuals" of the Atkinson type conclude that the workers are not "clever enough husbanders," and they address themselves to meet the phenomenon of deepening poverty by training the workers in a Chinese, cheese-paring economy. The process lowers the standard of life; and this, operating jointly with the law of values and of prices and of wages (the price of labor-power in the labor market) has for its effect to lower earnings still more, and thereby to deepen privation. This method likewise accomplishes the exact opposite of what it sets out to accomplish.

The capitalist social system, with the general insecurity that it generates and the general shrinkage of the field for economic independence, smites the family as with a flaming sword. The result is that directly and indirectly prostitution is fomented, till it assumes the rank of an "inevitable social institution." In sight of the disgraceful sight, bourgeois "intellectuals" address themselves to meeting the phenomenon by cauterizing the gangrene of prostitution, instead of removing the cause, and thus spread the corruption stealthily through the arteries of the whole body.—Here, too, the process does evil and no good. And so forth and so on.

So also with the Jewish or Semitic Question. Even if every Jew—man, woman and child—were killed, Semitism would not vanish. The idea of being a pre-selected and sole supplyer of Gods and their pursuivants is too fascinating and enticing to some minds to be let alone. If Gentile theology continues, even in case of such wholesale slaughter, there would eventually be gathered from the ranks of the Gentiles themselves the elements that would re-set up the claim of "Semitism." Such a monstrous, preposterous conception as Gentile theology breeds "Semitism" as inevitably as a cheese breeds maggots. The "intellectuals" of the bourgeois world—Jew and Gentile—are addressing themselves to the phenomenon miscalled "Semitism" in the same irrational manner that they address themselves to the other phenomena just mentioned, and to so many others of kindred nature. They attack the evil in a way that intensifies it: they strain to remove the "objectionable features of Semitism" (a result) while they keep alive the cause (Anti-Semitism, i. e., Gentile theology).

Nor can it be otherwise. Socialism, with the light it casts around and within man, alone can cope with these problems. Like the sea that takes up in its bosom and dissolves the innumerable elements poured into it from innumerable rivers, to Socialism is the task reserved of solving one and all the problems that have come floating down the streams of time, and that has kept man in internicene strife with man.

It is a pity that the anonymous translator of Bernard Lazare's interesting work handles the English language as defectively as he does. But for all that the poor English of the translation does not sufficiently mar the work to render it unintelligible. Whoever has the means and taste to widen the horizon of his knowledge, and can not read the original, should not fail to procure and read this work. It can be had at the Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade street, price $2.

FREEDOM'S PIONEERS

Air—"Boys of Wexford."
(Written especially for The People by James Connolly.)

I

Our feet upon the upward path
Are set, where none may tread
Save those who to the rich man's wrath
Dare turn rebellious head,
And hearts as brave; no cringing slave
In all our rank appears;
Our proudest boast, in Labor's host,
We're Freedom's Pioneers.

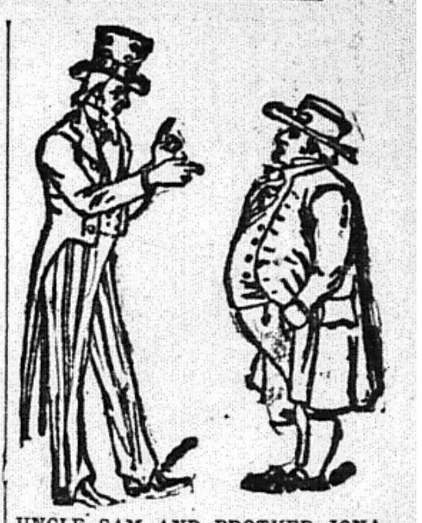
CHORUS:
O, slaves may lag, and cowards whine;
We scorn their foolish fears.
Be this our plan, to lead the van
With Freedom's Pioneers.

II

Too long upon our toil we've built
The palaces of power,
When at our word those parts of guilt
Would crumble in an hour;
Now each day brings on swifest wings
To their unwilling ears,
The shouts that greet our marching feet,
"'Tis Freedom's Pioneers."
(Chorus.)

III

The rich man's hate, the rich man's pride,
Have held us long in awe,
Our Right to Life is still denied,
And wealth still rules the law,
But man shall bow no longer now,
But welcomes with his cheers
The ringing stroke, that breaks our yoke,
Of Freedom's Pioneers.
(Chorus.)



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I am going to the woods.

UNCLE SAM.—You will certainly feel cooler there than in the city.

B. J.—I don't do it for the sake of coolness, exactly; I propose to stay there even after the cool weather has set in. I want to escape this year's campaign.

U. S.—But you'll be back in time to vote?

B. J.—Not much; that's the very thing I want to escape.

U. S.—And let the thing go by default?

B. J.—There's no default in the case. It is a choice of rotten apples.

U. S.—I certainly don't share that view.

B. J.—Would you vote for the Hanna party of humbug?

U. S.—Indeed I wouldn't. It's programme is partly the dry rot of "protection," partly the false pretenses of the gold standard, and the whole doused with expansion gravy. The one and the other have been tried; wages go down in both; in both the workers are thrown out of work; in both pauperism increases for the masses and riotous wealth increases for the idle few. I'll certainly have none of that party.

B. J.—Nor would I. Or would you bestow your ballot upon that sadly stricken "Anti-Imperialist" Democratic party?

U. S.—Most assuredly not. In the first place, this gang is as much after a comfortable seat on the backs of the workers as its Republican rivals. In the second place, it is a preposterous crew. It wants the private ownership of the means of production, it wants to keep that up, and yet it is up in rebellion against the results of such private ownership. It wants to uphold the system of private exchange, and yet it wants to "smash the trust."

B. J.—So say I.

U. S.—Between the two, labor is between the devil and the deep sea. I'll have none of either.

B. J.—And don't you get tired of seeing the two sets of puddin' heads and rascals making faces of each other?

U. S.—And disgusted, to.

B. J.—That's the reason I am going to the woods.

U. S.—But you have no choice other than these two?

B. J.—None other.

U. S.—What about the Socialist Labor Party?

B. J.—Give me a rest!

U. S.—You shan't have a rest till you explain.

B. J.—Well, I will explain. The Socialist Labor Party is a political party like all others: and the same as the Democratic and Republican parties, it will become corrupt when it comes into power.

U. S.—Are the Republican and Democratic parties corrupt?

B. J.—Are they not?

U. S.—As far as I can tell they are not.

B. J. (amazed)—What! ! !

U. S.—They are not. I have never heard of a single instance in which a Republican or a Democratic politician, from Presidents down to the Aldermen, has sold out to the working class.

B. J. looks puzzled and knocked out.

U. S.—Do you know of any instance to the contrary?

B. J.—I can't say I do.

U. S.—Consequently they are not corrupt. They are put there by the capitalist class and they remain true as steel to the capitalist class.

B. J.—Coming to think of it, that's so. Even though they quarrel among themselves, and even amidst their bitterest wrangles, just as soon as a labor issue is up, they form one solid body, against the workingman.

U. S.—Once more, therefore, I repeat, they are not corrupt. As your premises fall through, so must your conclusions. The Socialist Labor Party cannot become corrupt. As the representatives of the old parties are uncorruptible and remain true to the capitalist class that runs them, so will and must the representatives of the Socialist Labor Party remain true to the class that puts them in power and whose interest they represent. There is no instance of the representatives of a revolutionary movement having sold out; the laobr fakirs sell out; but they do not represent the working class nor any revolutionary movement. They represent themselves, and a coward movement. Don't go to the woods. On election day cast your ballot solid for the Socialist Labor Party. Anything else you may do is aiding our common foe.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Terms—25c for six months, 50c for one year. Address, The Weekly People 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

A Miner on Mitchell.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I am a coal miner, in the bituminous region of Southwestern Ohio, and I desire to give the readers of The People some information concerning the conditions existing among wage-workers in this portion of the Ohio Valley.

President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers' Union, stated that he considered $600 per annum a living wage for a mine worker; but I am inclined to think that a majority of the miners do not earn more than $500 per year. If a miner has steady employment he can earn from $2.50 to $3 a day; but lack of cars to carry the coal output to the Great Lakes for shipment renders his livelihood precarious. Last week at the mine where I am employed we worked four days; the previous week, only one day and a half.

The leaders in the labor world—I refer to the pure and simple unions—have other reasons than political affiliations that occasion their antipathy to the Socialist cause. Religion and class interests are in numerous cases incentives to their opposition. John Mitchell could not be a good Catholic and advocate the co-operative commonwealth. The Pope is opposed to Socialism, because it would abolish the temporal power of the Church of Rome. And not only would it destroy the temporal power of the Catholic Church, but also of other church denominations. Likewise in labor organizations; the officials recognize that Socialism would diminish the influence of the official.

Not long since I worked in a brick factory near Bellaire. The plant in question averages an output of about 32,000 brick per day. The "green" brick are placed on small cars containing 500 brick each, are transferred into the steam-heated tunnels, dried that day and the ensuing night, and the next day are "set" in kilns ready for "burning." This is a marvelous improvement over the old way of drying in the sun that was in vogue until a few years ago.

Numerous little inventions in machinery have charcterized this advance and served to render the brick manufacturers opulent and aristocratic. A number of these inventions have been made by the employes. Not being financially able to patent the invention and not having money to make use of his discovery, the laborer utilizes it to assist him in doing his work more easily. The manufacturer comes along, observes the improvement, patents it and uses it in his plant, and obtains a royalty from other companies for the use of the patent. Then some fine day he comes along and informs the inventor that "I have no further use for you in this capacity; the work is so simple and easy that your little boy can do it for half the wages you receive. You can go and dig in the clay-pit."

A few years ago sheet iron for roofing and tin for various purposes was painted by hand. A workingman, I am informed, discovered that by a process of machinery, nominally by passing the sheets of tin through rollers, one man could accomplish twenty times the amount of painting that he could by the old process. The inventor, who resided in a small industrial town near Wheeling, disclosed his secret when he was intoxicated. The company machinist overheard it, improved on the suggestion, and to-day the patentee is wealthy, while the inventor realized nothing from his discovery.

Thus it is that by honesty, industry and intellect the divinely guided capitalist acquires vast riches, while the dishonest, ignorant and slovenly laborer toils away in the humble position in which God has seen fit to place him.

But, dropping satire, I am sanguine enought to believe that Socialism is coming, and that we will see it in our day. All hail to the red flag, the emblem of labor, and to the advent of the Socialist Republic. A. M. Nesbit.

Bellaire, O., June 25, 1903.

Section Columbus' Good Report of Work Done.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—As reports or short items of the S. L. P. work at various points are appreciated by the readers of The People, I wish to send a few lines concerning our struggle at this point. At the present time we are gliding along with smooth sailing. Section Columbus was never in better condition than now. While we have but a small section, yet we have a willing working force, that is improving in its efficiency all the time.

As to agitation work, we are holding two open-air meetings a week during the summer, which are conducted with satisfactory results, both in interest and the sale of literature. At our last meeting, on the 23d inst., we sold seven pamphlets, got three subscriptions to The Weekly People and took one order for the new translation of the thirty-third edition of Bebel's work, "Woman Under Socialism," to be delivered when published in the early fall; besides selling eight copies of The Weekly People. It has always been our practice to give The Weekly away, but at the last section meeting it was decided to sell them in the future at the open-air meetings. With such results, there will hardly be any more giving away of our official organ.

With regard to the other good work being done, the section at a recent meeting joined in hearty support of The Daily People Finance Committee's plan to have, as the popular expression has it, the party own its debts as well as its newspapers and means of publication; and then be no more at the mercy of a merciless creditor world, which can stampede our movement at its pleasure. I think Section Columbus can be depended upon to do its share in this new plan, which is receiving such hearty support all over the country.

In finishing I wish to call the attention of M. T. Berry and other stalwarts to the announcement in a local labor fakir sheet that General Organizer Sieverman, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, is about to open a campaign in this city for organizing that craft. Thus, as the fakirs lose their grip on the Atlantic Coast he is looking out for new victims in the West.

Speed the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A.

Oscar Freer.

Columbus, O., June 25, 1903.

On Watch for Capitalism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I received a sample copy of your paper yesterday, and so did a great many other operators employed here in the Postal Telegraph office, at 253 Broadway. Eastlake, the Grand Secretary-Treasurer of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, got hold of a copy of the paper and IMMEDIATELY TOOK IT TO MR. SHIRLEY, THE MANAGER. I wish to inform you that Eastlake's first name is Wilbur, instead of William, as you have it. Telegrapher.

New York, June 27, 1903.

Is This Funny or Is It Serious?

To The Daily and Weekly People.—To-day I, the undersigned, went before the United States District Commissioner, Th. Alexander, at the New York Post-office, serving as a witness for an applicant for naturalization papers. After the application was made out we finally arrived before Commissioner Th. Alexander to be examined. Among other questions that I, as a witness, had to answer were:

"Is he (the applicant) opposed to organized government? Does he belong to any society whose teachings are against organized government? Does he belong to any anarchist, nihilist or Socialist organization? Does he believe in killing or murdering any officer in the government of any country?" etc.

I answered "no" to all these questions. The applicant was not a member of the S. L. P. I conferred the favor of serving as his witness upon the assurance from a friend of his, an S. L. P. member, that he was not a Kangaroo, and that he would not with his vote assist in upholding the capitalist system.

I might also state that the questions were about the same to all the witnesses and applicants. I did not until shortly before our turn came, hear "Socialist" bracketed with "anarchism," "killing" or "murdering." I wore on my coat lapel a D. A. No. 49, S. T. & L. A. button, but I am not certain if it was that that had the magic effect upon the Commissioner to cause him to include "Socialist" in the questions. Arvid Olson.

New York, June 30, 1903.

The Situation in Lynn.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It is some time since the readers of The People have heard from Lynn. The strike of the cutters and stitchers is still on in eight of the ten shops which were struck last January. Harvey Bros. threw out the Tobin stamp some three weeks ago, and the K. of L. men went back to the cutting room they left some five months before. The women stitchers went back with them. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, by advice of its G. E. B., at once struck the making departments in this factory, and after striking the shop presented the firm with a price list which is understood to be about 60 per cent. in adavnce of the old prices. The independent unions which, with the K. of L. form a confederation, at once sent their men to take the places of the Tobinites. Great is pure and simpledom!

Local Alliance 267, S. T. & L. A., and Section Lynn, S. L. P., are holding several open-air meetings each week, which are well attended. And the attitude of our audiences augurs well for the future.

Another of the stamp factories, George E. Nicholson & Co., parted company with the Tobin stamp this week. Tobin has been trying to get dues out of the dupes at this factory ever since the strike started, but failed; so, on last Tuesday, he sent his local lieutenants to take the stamp, which was promptly handed over by the Nicholson company, who at once declared the factory a "free shop."

It looks, at this writing, as though the stamp would be out of all Lynn shops inside of 90 days. Haverhill will follow the example set by Harvey Bros. and Nicholson & Co. before long. Tobin is holding down the safety valve of a volcano in Brockton, where the manufacturers are now preparing to shake him for good. In Brockton the men ran the organization to get wages, and in some instances they succeeded. Tobin always opposed them, but he wanted the dues, and knew that he could not get them if he got too gay. The result is that now the bosses are going to fight this bunch of fakirs, with a long chance that they will win, as the Lynn and Haverhill strikes have cost nearly $200,000, if not more, and the treasury is in bad shape to face what the Tobinites must face in Brockton.

But to return to Lynn. As soon as the manufacturers shake Tobin here they will atempt to introduce a stamp of their own, and the Cincinnati system of hiring help, which is a blacklisting scheme. So there is bound to be something doing up this way for some time to come. The alliance work here is being pushed as fast as circumstances will allow. We are doing all we can to organize the workers on the correct lines of the alliance and the party, and are laying broad and deep the foundation for the future structure. From this on Local Alliance 267 will have a weekly letter in The People, so that comrades may know how we are getting along up in this neck of the woods.

In a recent issue of The Daily People it was stated by Comrade Freer, of Columbus, Ohio, that Frank A. Lieverman, alias "Pull Down No. 19," is to be in Columbus in the near future in the interest of Tobin and his scab union. To this we desire to say to the Columbus comrades: When this skate strikes your town get after him good and hot, and if you need any assistance send on and we will send such information as we have, and we have quite a lot of it concerning Sieverman, Tobin and that gang of labor skates. But one thing must be borne in mind by our Ohio comrades when they go up against No. 19 is that they are up against one of the dirtiest fakirs in American, contemptible in the fullest sense of the term and one of the most unblushing liars that has lived and faked the workers since the going out of Annanias. So, when you rip him, comrades, make it a clean cut and wide open job, as you are up against a slimy scoundrel, who will stop at nothing to catch a dupe. Fraternally,

Press Committee, No. 267,
S. T. & L. A.

How the Railroad Interests Are Taking Care of the Railroad Men Who Vote for Them.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In the January, 1903, issue of the Railway Conductor, E. E. Clark, editor, there is an article by President Jeffry, of the Rio Grande railroad, in which he advises the railroad employes to vote for legislation favorable to the railroad interests. No word is uttered against the idea of keeping labor in the ignorant condition of the horse, by advising it to work directly against its own class interests and foolishly give up its rights and its most powerful weapon—their votes.

Well, spring elections are over, and the people who produce all wealth—the working class—have voted; a few for their own interests, but a large majority for powerful corporation interests. What is the result? The railroad companies, true to the interests of theirs—the capitalist class—are closing their telegraph offices. This is the case with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, though this company made over $12,000,000 last year, and no doubt figure on greater profits for the ensuing year, while the cost of living goes up.

Jeffry, admitting there would be a revolution some time, seeks to hide the social revolution now in progress—the only hope of the workers against the system of wage slavery and the perpetuation of capitalism or slave production—the system of the Jeffrys and the labor sharks. A. J. B.

Jersey City, N. J., June 29.

To the Members at Large of the S. L. P.

Dear Comrades:—

It has lately occurred to me that a graver responsibility rests upon the members at large of the Socialist Labor Party than upon the individuals who make up the ordinary membership. Indeed the former, from their isolated position, are forced, in a certain sense, to take upon themselves all the functions of an entire section, and, in their own locality, to push the cause alone. Let us not shirk this responsibility.

At the present stage in the party's history, the main point at issue is the establishment of its press upon a firmer basis; for the The People (Daily, Weekly and Monthly) is at present an essential part of our organization. Our official organ has been built up by years of ceaseless toil, until it has become the beacon of revolutionary Socialism throughout the English-speaking world. The assiduity with which the party's enemies attack our press is a sure proof of its vital importance.

It takes constant vigilance and unceasing labor to steer a straight course through the many industrial windings of these early years of the Revolution; and while the ever-recurring attacks upon our press have power to shake its not too solid foundations, the frequent rush to the rescue will constantly retard our progress. Knowing this, all loyal comrades hailed with delight the plan of The Daily People Financial Committee to place the party's debt upon the shoulders of its membership. For my own part my pleasure was mixed with admiration and pride. Not only are our New York comrades and party officers active and vigilant, but our business department contains men of keen, far-seeing minds, who will lead the party safely out of the financial difficulties that handicap it now, if only we, ourselves, will do our share. So comrades, let us push the "Daily People Certificates" as far as we can. And let us not forget a still more important work, that of increasing the circulation of The Weekly and Monthly People. The apathy of the party membership in a matter so vital is almost beyond belief. Let us rouse ourselves.

Circumstances having thrown me out of section work, the State Committee of California has of late permitted me to use the subscription list of The Weekly and Monthly People for the purpose of pushing the party's press and literature throughout the State. My plan and its partial success will be the subject of a letter to The Daily People at an early date.

Fraternally,
Jane A. Roulston,
Member at Lare of California.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

G. R., STAMFORD, CONN.—That circular is "great." Will be returned to you as soon as copied. Shall publish it in these columns.

A. T. P., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Constantly as it may recur, the free trade idea is mildewed. Cheaper goods do not bring affluence to the producers, but to the capitalists. And neither does dear goods. That issue is a fight that goes on over the heads of the workers.

H. S. A., LINCOLN, NEB.—The circumstance that the worker has to sell himself along with the commodity labor-power presents no real difficulty. Take a negro slave. He has labor-power. That is sold. No doubt about that. And his labor-power is the only thing sold because there is nothing else in and about him, he being a slave. Give that same negro his freedom. That does not destroy his labor-power: that commodity continues in him. But there is now something else in and about him that was not there before. His own masterhood. Formerly that masterhood, or ownership, lay outside of him—in the slave-holder who owned him. Now that ownership is incorporated in him. The ownership of the commodity labor-power, latent in him, is sold, now just as before: only that he being now owner also, he does the selling himself—sells himself. Close thinking will remove the idea that because he is now master, the commodity ceases to be; and it removes the idea that the two things can not become virtually identical. He is free, consequently he is master; he is a wage slave, consequently he has sold his commodity labor-power. These are facts.

D. O'D., YONKERS, N. Y.—Father MacMackin's tirade against Socialism was read. He misquotes Aristotle. Take up Aristotle's "Politics" and you will find that this clerical gentleman garbled the philosopher. The clergy has no other weapon against Socialism than—THE LIE.

M. S. M., BAYONNE, N. J.—You want to read carefully. Was it America or was it Russia that the article compared to Macedon?—Russia. Was it Russia or was it America that the article compared to Rome?—America. Now, then, was it Macedon that overcame Rome, or was it Rome that overcame Macedon and carried on civilization?—Rome. Can you not now answer the question yourself? It is America will have to lead the way in the emancipation from capitalist domination.

T. C., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Place no reliance in these pulpiteers. Even though they be honest in their denunciations of the evils of the day. With them it is a sentiment that leads nowhere. They but "wag their scut on mountains of offence."

G. C., PITTSBURG, PA.—The name of the writer of the article "The Telegraphers" is not essential to an answer. If you wish to "refute" him, do so; your article will be printed in these columns; and he will reply. Do you not know that the manager is anxious to find him out—and sack him? Do you not know that the "labor leader" Eastlake promptly carried a copy to the manager? Do you imagine we care to play into Eastlake's hand by letting out the name of the writer?

T. R. B., PORTLAND, ORE.—To you, as to workingmen in any other part of the country, or of Europe, our advice is—stay where you are, and try and get along there, don't emigrate. If hard times bow you out of one place, they stand to welcome you at any other place you may choose to go to. Capitalism is international, its pall hangs everywhere.

F. C. R., NEW YORK.—1. No: man is not opposed to work. What he is opposed to is to work and expend 100 units of tissue and receive in return only 60 units notwithstanding he produces wealth that would restore 300 units of tissue.

2. Sheep and cattle, used for production, are essentially capital.

3. You could not drag the S. D. P., alias S. P. with a 40-horse power into a discussion with the S. L. P. They don't know much; but they know something, and that is that they are walloped before they start. That's why The People has to chase them up hill and down vale: they are always on the run.

E. R. A., CHICAGO, ILL.—It is not science but the sweepings of science, sometimes not even that, that our professors of political economy ladle out to the public.

[illegible] R., JACKSONVILLE, ILL.—The figures are right. The NET EARNINGS of the railroads were $610,131,320. But the wages of the employers—$676,028,592—don't come out of the NET EARNINGS; they come out of the GROSS EARNINGS. These two sets of figures show that the capitalist gets almost as much as all the workers put together.

C. P., MADISON, WIS.—Honesty? Honesty in business? That point has been settled long ago. It has been settled so completely that it has been embalmed in literature in the maxim: "All business is a competition in fraud; and honesty is a virtue which regards the carrying out but not the creation of agreements."

R. B., VANCOUVER, B. C.—As to the matter sent in last September, it is now too late to even refresh one's memory; especially as that was campaign time.

2. As to the Italian matter, it was sent to Il Proletario for information. If the matter is considered important enough, kindly repeat the letter and it will go in. Matter enough comes in here for a paper many times its size. Such omissions are wholly unintentional.

F. S. N., CHICAGO, ILL.—All that can be said with absolute certainty about the Populist National Secretary Edgerton's letter is that it is an admission of the death of Populism. As to whether it is one of the Hearst moves that is not so clear, altho' possible. Much clearer is Hearst's hands in the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party camp. The natural affinity between him and them—that is the sincere ones among them—is such that he will draw unto himself all the rational ones.

M. R., HOLYOKE, MASS., and D. L. B., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—1. The talk from Germany about Edward Bernstein getting a cabinet position is not "too soon." If not he, some other will. As the Germans say: "Nur abwarten."

2. The surprise is not that some Germans celebrate in America the recent Social Democratic vote of Germany. The surprise is that hundreds of thousands of them don't congregate to celebrate; and that they don't is a bad sign. The bulk of the Germans here have it in for that Kaiser and his Empire; it is that that drove them out; their instinct correctly tells them that this big vote is a slap in his face. That they don't celebrate looks bad: it tends to show that their recent hysterics over Prince Heinrich was not as artificial as some thought.

J. B. F., TUOLUMNE, CAL.—Take your cue from last week's editorial containing letter from Sacramento. Reach your fellow workingman, but always like a rational man.

E. C. D.—You sent no address where to reach you. You will find some one at home at one end of the line or the other.

W. M'C., SEATTLE, WASH.—The gerrymander in Germany is only one of 1000 causes of general complaint against the Government. The Social Democratic Manifesto reproduces the situation well. Only a small fraction of the population is Socialist. The bulk wants radical bourgeois reforms. Hence the manifesto is mainly taken up with that. Nevertheless the leadership of the party is Socialist. Consequently a few Socialist phrases are tacked on to the end of the manifesto. But the manifesto furthermore explains how it happens that so many of these German Socialists drop Socialism when they reach this country. You will notice that the close of the manifesto is inconsequential. Its broad Socialist demands at the close are not results or consequences of the body that precedes. Armies may be abolished and large navies, and big tariffs but not therefore does Socialism follow. And that's what the Germans find out when they reach this country. The Social Democracy of Germany has long ceased to teach Socialism. It has had to devote its time to bourgeois reform issues.

R. B., PATERSON, N. J.—Was not that self evidently a typographical error, instead of $250,000,000, $25,000,000?

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—The following question has run in here from Louisville, Kentucky:

"Information is wanted about J. M. Hoffman, Lockport, N. Y., present president of International Broommakers Union."

The information will be gratefully received, and then forwarded.

R. H. M'H., ST. CHARLES, MO.—Indeed not! The F. B. Jordan whose name appears in these columns as active in the Party is not the F. B. Jordan of "Now, Frank, up and at them!" fame. He is an honorable man, and member of Section Lynn, Mass.

D. W., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Otto Steinhoff, of Columbus, O., got the head of the "Brauer Zeitung" in chancery now, as you will notice in these columns. He will settle the gentleman all right.

A. P., CINCINNATI, O.—Mills? Walter Mills? Thomas Walter Mills? The Rev. Thomas Walter Mills? You leave him alone. The man is worth his weight in gold. Like a chemical reagent, he is eminently qualified to bring about the precipitate that will not only dissolve, but also expose the composition of the Bogus Socialist party—that is reveal the secret of the philtre.

R. G., EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.—Palliatives are palliations of wrong. The point is proven in the second of "The Two Pages from Roman History." The S. L. P. of America has none of it in its platform.

D. A. G., TINTENBAR, N. S. WALES.—Bring the story up to date.

J. F., NEW YORK.—"He sat to the table" is wrong. "He sat down to table and was served with breakfast."

T. J. D. AND OTHERS, SEATTLE, WASH.; O. D., CHICAGO, ILL.; B. L. J., ST. PAUL, MINN.; T. S., RICHMOND, VA.; H., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; S. F., BOSTON, MASS.; "FRIENDS," PHILADELPHIA, PA.; W. W., DENVER, COLO.—Matter received.

Holyoke Agitation.

Holyoke, Mass., July 1.—The Massachusetts State Committee made a good choice when it selected Comrade W. H. Carroll for State Organizer. He not only has the knowledge to expound Socialism, but he also possesses good tact and judgment to handle and hold an audience, such as can be got together at street-corner meetings. He has been very successful here in Holyoke, and although he unmercifully pounded our local labor celebreties, he certainly made more friends than enemies for the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A.

Comrade Carroll is the right man for the movement in its present shape. He attends faithfully to every little detail to make the meetings successful. He advertises in the papers, gives notice to the police authorities, gets his own soap box and is punctual to the minute to start off the meeting, whether there is one or a dozen present. He does not find fault and gives no trouble to anybody. He simply goes ahead to make converts for the S. L. P.

He has also the faculty to size up local conditions correctly and use them to good advantage.

This is a fair sample of his speeches, as reported in the Holyoke Daily Telegram:

PAPER PROFITS.

Some Figures on What Wage-Earners Make.

Socialist Labor Party Advocate Compares Figures—No Use Whatever for Capitalists.

"An audience of about 200 attended the open-air meeting of the Socialist Labor Party last evening at the corner of Ely and East streets. W. H. Carroll, of Boston, State Organizer of the party, discussed at considerable length the strike, taking for a basis of his remarks the Census Bulletin of 1902. He declared that, according to the report in 1890, the workers in the paper industry produced per man $1974, for which they received in wages $521; while in 1900 each worker produced $2037 and received only $470 in wages. 'Wages," declared Carroll, 'is the price paid for labor. The price of labor is regulated by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity. Under the system of chattel slavery the price of the black slave varied according to the supply and the demand for black slaves. The price was high when there were few in the market; the price was low when there was a full market. So it is with your wages. The capitalist is as cunning as the slave-owner, and when he perceives this condition he forces down the price of wages. Now the only way out is to organize along correct lines—the lines laid down by the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Back up your economic organization at the ballot box. Capture the power, and legislate into the hands of the working class the lands and capital of the nation. Throw aside your superstition that the capitalist is necessary in production—not as your second vice president, McCarthy, stated at the circus grounds yesterday, "That we must have the capitalist; that he did not believe in crowding the business man out." The Socialist Labor Party does insist on putting the capitalist out of business, just as King George was put out of this country. There will be no place for the working people while the capitalist is in control. As long as he is permitted to hire you for wages, just so long will you suffer. It is, therefore, your duty to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party in order to overthrow the wage system and establish the Socialist Republic.'"

The striking paper-makers will surely catch it in the neck now. The State Board of Arbitration is in town.

ACTIVITY IN DENVER

THE S. L. P. CONDUCTING A VIGOROUS PROPOGANDA.

It Wins in Fight With Bitter Opposition—The Traitorous Conduct of the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners Exposed.

[Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.]

Denver, Colo., June 20.—We have to apologize for our long silence, but we have been hard at work ever since early in April and have been having the best sale of literature in the record of this Section, having sold as nigh as $5 worth at one of our meetings, and averaging about $1.75 to $2.50 at every meeting. Comrade Veal assisted us greatly during the time he was in town, but our agitation has been interrupted to a considerable extent by the continual rain.

The American Labor Union and Western Federation of Miners' Conventions assembled here May 25, and added another page to their professions of being a revolutionary organization and, in elegant harmony with these worthy professions, sent a begging committee to James Peabody, the Republican Governor, to ask him to call a special session of the Legislature to pass them an eight hour law! These labor fakirs have lived so well on the "labor laws" they have gotten through the Colorado Legislature. Dozens of laws have been passed, but without any penalties provided for the the breaking of them, and the capitalists would not know these laws existed if they didn't see them on the Statute Book, and their attorneys and politicians didn't enjoy them so much as a joke. They are never enforced. And the light of these unions, David C. Coates, a prominent member of the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic party, the editor of "The Colorado Chronicle," the mouthpiece of that party, had just distinguished himself as chairman of the Executive Board in the biggest strike in Denver's history, by signing a declaration that the strike and boycott are the only weapons in the hands of the working class for the betterment of their condition, and by signing the contract with the Citizens Alliance, agreeing to order all working men back to work as before, upon condition that the capitalists would employ them "so far as business would permit"; this contract also calling for the submission of the differences between "capital and labor" to an arbitration committee to be adjusted upon a "fair" basis; and provided also that this arbitration committee is to be a permanent mediator to secure slavery for the working-class upon a palatable basis ad infinitum.

These are our "progressive unions" of the West.

At the last election there was submitted to the voters a constitutional amendment giving Denver "home rule" and providing that all members of the convention to draft the new charter for the city must be taxpayers, and that every proposition for the purpose of making the light plant, street car lines or other "public utility" the property of the city should be submitted to the vote of the taxpayers only: "Home rule" by our immediate bosses. How would we like it? The Western Federation of Miners hung a large banner across one of Denver's principal streets, telling the workers to vote for this disfranchising amendment! And Walter Thomas Mills, while speaking to several thousand people on Labor Day promised that all "Socialists" would support it!

The bill passed, and consequently the Socialist Labor Party of Denver could not furnish the taxpayers to put up a ticket in the charter convention election held June 2. The "Socialist Party," which contains more taxpayers than anything else, put up no ticket, but voted for the United Labor Party; whose instigators were the Single Taxers, and on whose ticket were two members of the "Socialist Party" as candidates. This "Socialist Party" which, in the State campaign unfurled the canvass bearing the red lettered device: "No Fusion. No Compromise."

To ascertain why the "Socialist Party" had no ticket in the field, we went to one of their meetings and asked Professor Walter Thomas Mills, and Ministers Strickland and Wilson, and J. W. Martin, their State Secretary, beside a dozen or so of lesser lights; and only one had any explanation to make and this one was Channing Sweet, who said it was probably because of the expense. Sweet is a capitalist and reputed to be a millionaire. And the only denial of their fusion with the United Labor Party was from J. Stitt Wilson, D. D., and he said he was not acquainted with local conditions. We will make these Kangaroos and labor fakirs answer for these actions all over the State this season.

One day during last week Comrade Vaughan broke the ice in one of the suburbs of Denver by catching the slaves coming out of the cotton mills, making a short speech and advertising a meeting for Sunday morning. He was promised by the mill superintendent that if we came out there every union man would be fired; but he informed this company officer that bluffs didn't go with the S. L. P. and that we would be there. J. S. Williams and other sympathizers completed the advertisement and a crowd was waiting for us when we arrived this morning at 9 o'clock. An old table was secured to speak from and Comrade Starkenberg took the stand.

An ignorant looking cuss, who, we were told, was the assistant superintendent, was standing at the outskirts of the crowd with a bunch of other fellows, some of them crippled and broken down by their service in the factories of the capitalist class. This bunch of fellows carried tin horns, and when Starkenberg began they began to blow the horns under the directions of the assistant superintendent. The speaker called upon them for the common courtesy of attention, but to no avail, and after competing against these capitalists' lackeys for a few minutes introduced another comrade. The next speaker showed the crowd, which packed close about the stand, that it was not the speakers that the Connon Mill Company was opposing, but that they were trying to prevent the education of these very slaves; and the crowd was greatly aroused when they saw that the fight was being made against themselves by the horn-blowers. When this speaker was somewhat hoarse Starkenberg took the stand again and promised the workers that "We were going to stay for the big show and use the other fellows to feed the animals." When Starkenberg was tired the other comrade spoke again. The horn-blowers were getting rather weary and shamed by the pictures of their cheap, servile assistance of the capitalists and by the cheering of the crowd. One of them came up behind the speaker and grabbing the table turned it over. Carl Oberheu grabbed the fellow by the neck, shoved him down at the foot of a tree and would have slugged him but for the intervention of another party member. Some of the crowd saw the assistant superintendent give the fellow $1 and another give him 10 cents to do that dirty trick. That is but five cents less than the pay for 12 hours works and was certainly a great inducement. The crowd was thoroughly in earnest now and the assistant superintendent's corps was informed that its monkey business had to stop, and it stopped. The assistant superintendent left just as soon as he saw his $1 man thrown on the ground.

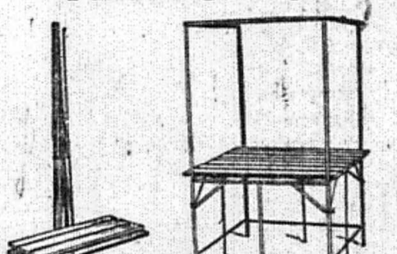
From that time until noon the crowd listened in rapt attention, while the cause of their slavery was being explained, numerous instances of the use of the political power by the capitalist class was shown and the necessity of their economic and political organization was pointed out.

S. T. & L. A. manifestos and the difference between the S. P. and S. L. P. were distributed, $1.70 worth of pamphlets was sold, six subscriptions to the Monthly, one yearly and two six month's subscriptions to the Weekly were taken. A large crowd was promised us there for next Sunday.

Considering the ground, this was one of the most successful meetings we have ever held. The slaves were made to know that the S. L. P. will stay until every opposition succumbs.

Several of the comrades of Section Denver are going up to Gilpin County for a little recreation and to speak to the slaves of the mines at Black Hawk and vicinity on the day the working class are wont to be called out to celebrate the capitalists' graft, and the Sunday following, July 4th and 5th. We will speak in Russel Gulch on the afternoon of the Fourth. Press Committee.

PORTABLE STEEL PLATFORMS



[Closed] [Open]
height of posts, 5 feet; size of platform, 32 inches square; carrying capacity, 800 lbs.
This platform is used by the S. L. P. all over Greater New York. Price, $5.00; without the wooden flooring, $4.50. Sample platforms are on exhibition in S. L. P. club-rooms, 177 First avenue, New York.
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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256½ Dundas street, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held July 3 at 2-6 New Reade street. A. Gillhaus in the chair. The financial report showed receipts $79.52; expenditures, $74.34.

Communications: From Boston, Mass., several letters as to securement of a manager for Daily People. From St. Paul, Minn., relative to omission to credit for Daily People Auxiliary League Fund. From San Francisco, Cal., about circulation of Party press and other matters. From Section Denver, Colo., asking N. E. C. to sanction publication of a paper about to be started. It appeared from the communication that the said paper is to be distributed free of charge and does not for that reason fall under the constitutional provision referred to by Section Denver any more than a handbill or leaflet printed and distributed by any Section or State Committee. From Manchester, Va., on street car strike; also on a debate arranged for but postponed because of the strike. The matter submitted by Hamilton, Canada, was then taken up, the secretary having procured from the editor of The People the letter sent to the editor and which he had declined to publish without the sanction of the N. E. C. It was resolved not to publish for the reason that it is a matter of purely internal character concerning only the S. L. P. of Canada, this N. E. C. being in no position to verify the statements made and having neither authority nor desire to interfere in a matter that can be settled within the Canadian S. L. P. by means of a few circular letters. From Kentucky S. E. C. reporting re-organization of Section Paducah and asking for information relative thereto. Resolved to admit the reorganized section and send them supplies. From Louisville, Ky., and Schnectady, N. Y., both sections sending, prematurely, their vote on the Everett proposition. Secretary had informed both sections that the vote is not on yet, but that the time for amendments expires on July 4, after which date voting blanks will be prepared and sent to the sections. From Collinsville, Ill., and St. Louis, Mo., stating that the recent flood interfered much with work. From Section Detroit, Mich., reporting that it had been decided to suspend publication of the Wage Worker and asking that unexpired subscriptions be filled by The Weekly People. Granted. From Cleveland, Ohio, several communications relative to Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung and the management of its property by the N. E. C.'s trustee. From California S. E. C. about work for Party press, agitation in the State and other matters.

Adjourned. Edward C. Schmidt,
Recording Secretary.

Massachusetts S. E. C.

The Massachusetts S. E. C. held its regular meeting at Boston on Sunday, June 14, 1903, with Young, of Boston, in the chair. All the delegates were present except Fitzgerald, of Boston, who was excused, and Ferguson, of Everett. Dyer Eiger, of Boston, presented credentials and was seated as a delegate.

Communications: From Carroll, Stoeber, Oldham, Hoar, Berry, Hogan, Bresnahan, Sweeney, Rigby and Stevens declining nominations on the State ticket. From Fitzgerald, Anderson, Nagler, Nielson, O'Fihelly accepting nominations on State Ticket. From Devine of Abington, Koephe of Pittsfield, Worcester, Gardner and Lynn asking information, depicting local conditions, sending list of members and monthly reports. From Kuhn, National Secretary, on party press and sending bills to collect; attended to by secretary. From Everett about non-attendance of the delegate to the S. E. C. From New York Labor News Company about mistake in account of the S. E. C. and Section Boston, and enclosing statement for the S. E. C. From Young, of Fair Committee, sending certificate of ownership of pen won by Victor Funke at The Daily People Fair. From Daily People and Arbetaren enclosing sub lists of Massachusetts. From Scandinavian Socialist Club asking for speaker for picnic to be held July 11 for the benefit of the S. E. C.; M. T. Berry was elected as speaker.

Committee on election laws made a progressive report and asked for further time; request granted.

The Daily People loan certificates were turned over to the Organizer to be sold throughout the State.

Dyer Eiger, of Boston, was elected to fill vacancy on the agitation committee.

The Secretary was instructed to notify Frank B. Jordan, of Lynn, to appear before the next meeting of this committee.

Comrade Chester was elected a committee of one to take charge of the tickets for the Scandinavian Socialist Club picnic.

The Secretary was instructed to send out referendum vote on State ticket.

Secretary instructed to send credentials to the delegates elected to represent the S. L. P. at District Alliance No. 19, S. T. & L. A.

The State Organizer was sent to the Springfield district for two weeks.

Keefe and Berry were nominated as Organizers for Greater Boston, to be elected at next meeting.

Secretary-Treasurer reported for May: Receipts, $174.59; expenses, $148.11.

John W. Ryan, Secretary.
26 Adams street, Lynn, Mass.

New York State Executive Committee.

A regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in the Daily People building, 2-4-6 New Reade street, New York City. A. Moren was elected chairman. The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

A communication was received from Charles Zolot, of Peekskill, N. Y., asking for a speaker. Also enclosing money collected from T. Riley. The same was attended to and placed on file. A communication from A. H. Baumgardt, Section Alany County, enclosing money for dues, was read and placed on file. A letter from L. Abelson, Organizer Section New York, requesting that twelve due stamps be replaced to sub-divisions, namely, the Fifteenth and Seventeenth A. D.'s, which last two and the Twentieth A. D., New York, last ten. The request was granted.

After a discussion on State convention and various other matters, the financial report was read as follows:

Income.

Sold due stamps	$84.96
Wallace and Lake Fund	1.35
Mileage Fund	21.24
	$107.55

Expenses.

Printing (Labor News Co.)	$12.10
Postage & Sundries	1.30
	$13.40
Balance	94.15
	$107.55

Adjournment followed.
Harvey A. Santee.

Call for State Nominating Convention.

To the Sections of the S. L. P., New York State:

Comrades—Pursuant to the call of the New York State Executive Committee, you are called upon to make nominations for delegates to represent you at a State Convention to be held at 2-4-6 New Reade street, New York City, on September 5, 1903, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for judge of the Court of Appeals.

The basis of representation is one delegate from each section and one additional delegate for every five hundred votes or a major fraction thereof falling within its jurisdiction at the last Gubernatorial election.

Harvey A. Santee,
Secretary S. E. C.
July 6, 1903, New York City.

Missouri State Committee.

Meeting of July 2—Bilsbarrow in the chair. Grupp and Graber absent without excuse. Chas. Hager elected recording secretary pro. tem. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Communications from Kansas City and Minden Mines, Missouri—Hy. Kuhn and Phillip Veal—read and ordered filed. Bills from National Secretary Kuhn for application cards, and from State Secretary Dieckmann for postage stamps, ordered paid.

Secretary reports that minutes of State Committee meeting of last month, as printed in The People, stated that committee had ordered 400 leaflets; should have read 4,000. Secretary Dieckmann also reports communicating with Comrades Veal and Chase, of Colorado, with reference to securing services of Comrade Vaughn, of Colorado, for an agitation tour of Missouri.

Financial Report—Previous on hand, $11.45; receipts, $3.84; expenditures, $1.40; balance on hand to date, $13.89.

C. E. Hager,
Recording Sec., pro. tem.
St. Louis, Mo., July 5.

Comrades of Troy, Rensselaer, Albany, Schnectady and Watervliet Take Notice.

Secttions Troy and Watervliet will have a grand field day and outing at Weinender's Grove, Watervliet, Sunday, July 12. Frank D. Lyon, of New York, will be the speaker of the day.

The committee have arranged a list of sports, and provided for plenty of music and refreshments of all sorts. Admission is free.

Those who have procured tickets will find them worth their face value at the refreshment stand.

Readers of the People are especially invited to attend.

L. A. Boland,
Secy. Outing Committee.

Special Fund.

As per circular letter of September 3, 1901.

Previously acknowledged, $7,219.02; Long, Watervliet, N. Y., $1; D. D. Bryant, San Francisco, Cal., $1; J. Astor, Greensburg, Pa., 50c.; A Brooklyn Comrade, $1; Geo. Anderson, Los Angeles, Cal., $2; L. Pilout, per J. Kelly, city, $1.50; J. Job, 50c.; S. Donath, $1.50; H. W., 1st A. D. Branch 1, Brooklyn, N. Y., $2; M. Stein (per A. F.), Schnectady, N. Y., 25c.; H. Levin, Brooklyn, N. Y., $1; C. Nelson, Cleveland, O., $1; G. M. Sterry, Pawtucket, R. I., $1; A. C. Coursen, Huntington, N. Y., $1.50. Total, $7,234.77.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

S. T. & L. A. NEWS.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada; headquarters, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street.

General Executive Board meets the second and fourth Tuesday evenings of each month, at 7.30 o'clock, at above address.

All information as to organization and the aims and objects of the S. T. & L. A. will be gladly sent by mail on request.

Speakers will be furnished to address labor and trade organizations, as well as sections of the S. L. P., on new trades unionism.

Address all communications to John J. Kinneally, general secretary, Nos. 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York.

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A. was held Thursday evening, June 25, at headquarters, 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York.

Meeting called to order at 8 o'clock. Comrade French was elected chairman. Members present, Gilhaus, Alsen, Bartel, French, Crawford and Kinneally. Absent, Kopp, without excuse.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Financial reports of Treasurer and General Secretary were received and filed.

Communications:—From Section South Hudson County, N. J., on meeting that was to be held last Saturday and not held on account of rain. Postponed until Saturday, June 27, asking for speaker. Kinneally appointed. From L. A. 398, Woonsocket, R. I., asking for information. Answered by secretary. From D. A. 17, on work of organization in Rhode Island. Received and filed. From D. A. 23, Waterville, Maine, on work of organization. Received and filed. From L. A. 399, Buffalo, N. Y., on local conditions with certain requests. Action received and requests granted. From L. A. 351, Watervliet, N. Y., on preparations being made for agitation work in Troy, Albany and Watervliet. Received and filed. From L. A. 396, Skowhegan, Maine, on work of organization. Received and filed. From L. A. 383, Rochester, N. Y., on the necessity of work of agitation being done there. Received and referred to the secretary for attention.

A general discussion was then had on the necessity of agitation work being done in different sections of New York State and the secretary was directed to make arrangements so that a speaker could make a tour of the State. After other routine business being done, meeting adjourned.

John J. Kinneally,
General Secretary.

Organizer, District Alliance No. 19.

All communications intended for District Alliance, No. 19, S. T. and L. A. should, hereafter, be addressed to the Organizer, Francis A. Walsh, 25 Tower avenue, West Lynn, Mass.

Attention, Paterson.

Regular meeting of Section Passaic County will be held in Helvetia Hall, on Van Houten street, on Tuesday, July 14. Every member should be on deck to assist in helping along the work for the party press.

Every reader of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People, and sympathizers of Socialist Labor Party are invited to attend. Edward Gilmon,

Section Hartford's Officers.

At the semi-annual meeting of Section Hartford, held Wednesday, July 1, the following officers were elected:—Organizer, Jacob Brewer; treasurer, William Mentze; financial secretary, Henry Huchstedt; recording secretardy, R. E. Healy; auditors, H. F. Flentje, Fred Bauerle and Gus Holland; agent Soc. Arb. Zeitung, Joe Rossmeill; agent People, F. Fellermann; agent Literature, C. F. Roberts.

Section Tacoma's Officers.

The following are the newly elected officers for Section Tacoma, July 1 to Jan. 1:

Organizer, J. C. Anderson; recording secretary, C. M. Carlson; financial secretary, William Carnegie; literary agent, J. C. Anderson; treasurer, G. Rush; grievance comittee, William Carnegie, G. Rush and J. C. Anderson; auditing committee, W. A. Herson, L. Schroeder and J. A. McMillan.

Massachusetts Sections, Attention.

The following sections of the Socialist Labor Party of the State of Massachusetts will please send to the undersigned before July 12, 1903, a full list of the names, addresses, ages and occupations of their respective members: Boston, Cambridge, Everett, Gardner, Holyoke, Lowell, Lynn, New Bedford, Pittsfield, Salem, Somerville, Springfield and Adams.

Members of the above named sections will please take notice and see that their officers comply with this request.

John W. Ryan, Secretary.
76 Adams street, Lynn, Mass.

Twin City Excursion.

The sixth annual steamboat excursion given by Sections St. Paul and Minneapolis, Socialist Labor Party, will take place Sunday, July 26, going to Prescott and Lake St. Croix, with steamer J. J. Hill and barge.

Excursion leaves Minnehaha Falls, 9 a. m.; St. Paul, 11 a. m.; returning to St. Paul about 10 p. m.

Fare for round trip, 50 cents.

Children under 12 years, accompanied by parents, free. Only excursion this summer by the S. L. P.

Minutes of Illinois S. E. C.

The meeting of the Illinois State Executive Committee was called to order by Organizer Cox on Sunday, June 28, with all members present but Suber, who was excused. Comrade Reed was elected chairman.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved, after which the following applicants were admitted to the Party as members-at-large: Fred G. Hoffman, of Quincy, and Dorman Browne and Theodore Bratt, of Moline.

Communications: From National Secretary commending Pierson's work, acknowledging payments on leaflets, also enclosing bill for 200 delinquent cards which had been sent and touching on Party press and Party matter; from Section Peoria stating it would like to have Pierson immediately after his present dates expire, which will be at Danville on August 11; that the members will do all they can to keep him in the field, highly commending his work, acknowledging receipt of delinquent cards, etc., with two dollars for State fund; from J. M. Francis enclosing one dollar for State fund; from F. G. Hoffman, of Quincy, on Party matter, highly recommending Pierson as a man qualified for the work he is doing, with application for membership-at-large and two month's dues; from Wm. Reisenberg, of Chicago, pertaining to Organizer's reply to his letter to S. E. C. to Section Chicago, and returning same which was read to S. E. C. Latter concluded matter unimportant, as previous action and what is being done is the very best that can be done; from Section Roanoke on movement there, and from Signori, of La Salle, with order for ten stamps for himself and Promis and 80 cents for State fund.

After discussing matters pertaining to Party work and press, the same was laid over till next session.

Receipts for stamps: Madison County, $1.20; La Salle, $1.20; Quincy, 24c.; Moline, 24c.; total, $2.88.

Expenditures: Post Office stamps, 48c.

Balance, $2.40; balance in treasury June 14, $8.52; total in treasury, $10.92.

State Fund: La Salle, 80c.; Chicago, $4; Peoria, $2; East St. Louis, $3; Duquoin, $1; Belleville, $1; Madison County, $1.25; total, $13.65. Balance in treasury June 14, $8.05, Total in treasury, $21.10.

Expenditures: Wages to Pierson and post office money order, $10.10.

Balance on hand, $11.

The following is an account of Pierson's work: Moline—Monthly People subscriptions secured, 53; Weekly, 7; books, 85; public meetings, 4. Rock Island, Monthly subs, 38; Weekly, 4; books sold, 42.

The following is the total of Pierson's work for 39 days: Monthly subs, 361; one year Weekly subs, 17; one-half year Weekly subs, 23. Books sold, 399; new members gained, 8. Total receipts, $67.60; amount sent to People, $43.16; Pierson's commission, $16.04; wages paid Pierson, $50; leaflets and money orders, $1.88.

Now, Comrades of Illinois, we have spent $50 for which Pierson has turned over business amounting to $43 to the People. This is far better than if we had contributed four times the amount outright, as this is the only way in which our Press will get on a self-sustaining basis, and the very best method of building up our movement. We know that prosperity abounds only among the capitalist class, hence the working class cannot have a fat purse; but let us, with renewed vigor, dig down a little deeper and maybe we will find a dime or two hid away in the corners of our ragged trousers. We started with $25, and you see there is $11 in the treasury, $10 of which I must send to Pierson to-day. His salary is paid up to the scratch, but there is none in the treasury. Pardon us, Comrades, but these appeals must be made. Hoping for good results we remain, yours for the cause.

W. W. Cox, for the Ill. S. E. C.

Fire Damage Fund of German Party Organ.

Previously acknowledged, $488.45.

Adolph Miller, Akron, O., 25c; J. C. Custer, Bridgeport, Conn., $1; Geo. Anderson, Salines, Cal., $1; Wm. Ramm, Milwaukee, Wis., 50c; collected of members of Section Vancouver, B. C., by Ernst Surges, $3.10; M. L. Hiltner, Landeck, O., $1.50.

Per C. C. Christiansen, Cleveland, O., on List No. 11—Franz Lange, 50c; Peter Faber, Grafton, O., $3; Mr. Fliedner, Cleveland, O., $1.

Per Henry Fuehrer, Cincinnati O.—Fred Steinbach, 50c; Henry Kimpel, 25c; total, 75c.

Per E. Sherman, Rockville, Conn.—Wm. Suessbrich, $1; G. Kloetzner, 50c; O. B. Neuman, 25c; Wm. Kittel, $1; L. Koelsch, $1; Chas. Backofen, $1; G. Reinchenbach, 25c; Fred Suessman, 50c; Gustav Merk, 50c; Gus Preusse, 50c; Albert Loeffler, 50c; E. Sherman, 50c; R. Dreher, 50c; F. Eidam, 50c; C. Merk, 50c; H. Weber, 50c; H. Nowsch, 75c; total, $10.25.

Per Mrs. L. Reiman, Cleveland O., on List No. 9—W. Einstein & Co., 25c; L. Aichelle, 10c; W. Kurze, 50c; C. Wilke, 25c; total, $1.10.

Per J. Heidenreich, Cleveland, O., on List No. 12—H. Hamm, $3; B. Meder, 50c; total, $3.50.

Per Theodore Seimer, Stonington, Conn., on List No. 48—T. Seimer, $1; N. Lucker, 50c; Mystic J. Buss, 50; J. A. Hoerl, $1; H. Kalms, $1; J. Eidesheim, $1; P. Aretz, $1; R. Gley, 50c; W. Wilhelm, 50c; F. Schetter, 50c; E. Mueller, 50c; J. Giesers, 50c; H. Bergmann, 50c; total, $11.50.

Per Jacob Fritz, Evansville, Ind.—C. Schaad, 50c; J. Fritz, 50c; M. Sigel, 15c; total, $1.15.

Per Henry Kuhn, New York City—S. Hudrick, New York, $1; Section Minneapolis, $5; G. Luck, Brooklyn, 50c; Progressive Socialist Club, New York (collection), $5.10; J. A. Anthony, Cananea, Mexico, $2.50; total, $14.10.

Per Kronmann, San Francisco, Cal.—E. Nagel, 50c; E. Mikusik, 50c; J. Kronmann, $3; total, $4.

Per W. H. Walter, Seattle, Wash.—Section Seattle, $5; J. Haymond, $2; total, $7.

Per Albert Schmutz, Louisville, Ky.—H. Huth, 50c; H. Fischer, 50c; H. Schmitt, 50c; H. Schild, 50c; L. Fleischer, 50c; A. Schmutz, 50c; H. Schwab, 25c; L. Kleinhenz, 10c; C. Metz, 25c; Brewers' Union No. 110, $5; total, $8.60.

Per Franz Stranzl, Cleveland, O., on List No. 8—A. Koscher, $1; S. Sponder, 25c; S. Wildman, 50c; H. Boehmer, 50c; J. Wagner, 50c; F. Pokesca, 50c; A. Ruz, 50c; J. Jedlicka, 50c; A. Cynna, 50c; J. Baudrexel, 50c; G. Lapareis, 50c; J. Miller, 25c; T. John, 25c; J. Korn, 50c; S. Joe, 50c; B. Bell, 50c; R. Koderna, 50c; M. Muhlperzel, 50c; Mrs. Stranzl, $1.25; Mrs. Stranzl, $2.06; total, $12.06.

Per August Clever, Braddock, Pa.—August Clever, $2; J. Pankoff, $1; F. Lauth, 50c; L. Roehl, 50c; S. Singher, 50c; F. Powers, 25c; A. H. Steubenroth, 25c; J. Free, 50c; K. Kreusse, 50c; E. Deuber, 50c; P. Doll, 50c; K. Strass, 50c; J. Wolff, 25c; J. Knorr, 50c; A. Mura, 50c; A. Schamberg, 50c; L. Speers, $1; G. Peyer, 50c; O. Wagner, 50c; L. Doll, 50c; A. Reitzer, 50c; O. Keller, 50c; D. Martin, 25c; C. Eckert, 25c; total, $13.25.

Per Jacob Eiben, Cleveland, O., on List No. 10—J. Eiben, 50c; Mrs. J. Eiben, 50c; Mrs. C. Schuster, $1; S. Urban, 50c; M. Wensko, 25c; J. Fieker, 25c; total, $3.

Per K. Erben, Cleveland, O., on List No. 2—A. Ben, $2; L. Specht, $3; total, $5.

Per Ed Hauser, Cleveland, O., on List No. 13—R. Boehm, $3; Emma Hauser, $2; W. Kruse, $1; total, $6.

Grand total, $601.31.

Comrades, do all you can for this fund. Send money direct to

Socialistische Arb. Zeitung,
193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

As to the Proposed Amendment of Section Everett.

Since the proposition of Section Everett, Mass., has reached the N. E. C., with the necessary indorsements, and a call for amendments has been made, it will not be amiss to look at this question of severing our connections with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and any other organization which has for its motive the economic association.

Is it possible that clear-headed Socialists can ever think that the economic power wielded by the trades associations is a naught to the Socialist propaganda; that the Socialist cause can advance by relying on the political power only and disregard the economic circumstances?

Sections Everett, Minneapolis, Essex County, Albany County, Patton (Pa.) and Summerville should be strongly censured for a proposition of this kind, that could have been expected from any other quarter than from a section of the S. L. P. Our section—Peoria, Ill.—received this proposition for indorsement, and, thinking there must be something else behind it, a committee was appointed to inquire of Section Everett what the actual purport of this proposition could be; but not receiving an answer, wrote again for explanation, with the same result. Is Section Everett not able, or unwilling, to explain more in detail its action? Why so?

Have you ever looked into history and studied the diverse revolutionary movement without seeing that the revolution, if at all successful, had the economic power behind it, and grasped the political at a given point? This would mean that looking at it from the point of view of the materialistic conception of history, we must acknowledge that the economic revolution must be an accomplished fact, and that the overthrow of the then existing political power will be only a culminating point to bring it in conjunction with the economic circumstances.

Is Socialism not teaching the combination of these two powers? What are you looking to? Do you think that the economic power will bow down to Socialism if we should be able to grasp the political reins? No, comrades; Socialists do not fight the unions as unions, but they fight the rotten leadership and shortcomings of the same.

The present two large bodies of trades associations are fighting each other for the supremacy—not on account of the benefit to the membership, but on account of the benefit to the leaders. Lots of disgruntled union men are leaving their association or are its unwilling members, but the day is not far when the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance will be recognized by them as the only bona fide organization, where they belong.

With its clear-cut platform and its outspoken tactics, it will remain an eyesore to the present so-called labor leaders, who will leave nothing undone to down it; but, like Socialism itself, out of the debris of the battlefield, sphenix-like, it will rise, a bulwark against capitalism and other encroachments. Do not look at the slow growth slightingly, for it is far better to have a few clear heads fight for a cause they are fully conscious of than to be outnumbered by the unclarified. The revolutionary movement needs the clear, cool head more than all the hurrah hollering.

Regarding the ineffectiveness of strikes and boycotts, I cannot agree with you, as it is essential that the organizations MUST BE OF ANOTHER MAKE-UP THAN THEY ARE AT PRESENT TO SHOW THEIR EFFECTIVENESS.

Such an organization we wish to make the S. T. & L. A., which, watched from all sides and led a way of class consciousness, must prove an effective labor organization in every respect.

Do not think that the present incumbents of political power will allow us to oust them without a terrible struggle—by means of the ballot box only! Why is this disfranchising of the working people progressing?

Struggles are ahead of us, and those that wish to avoid them and are becoming weak-kneed let them stand aside; we will fill the void with better material of bone and senew, who will feel instinctively where the enemy is preparing a blow and know how to receive it.

I am convinced the rank and file of the S. L. P. is against the Everett proposition. Carl Koechlin.
Peoria, Ill., June 20, 1903.

Notice of Section Removal.

Section Denver, S. L. P., has moved its headquarters from No. 400 Club building, to No. 15 Good Block, corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets.

Carl Starkenberg.

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Massachusetts S. E. C. Meeting.

The next regular meeting of the Massachusetts S. E. C. will be held on Sunday, July 12, 1903, at 10.30 a. m. Delegates from Everett, Malden, Somerville and Woburn will please note the time and be present at 10.30 a. m. sharp.

John W. Ryan, Secretary.

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